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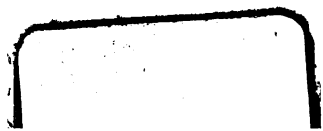
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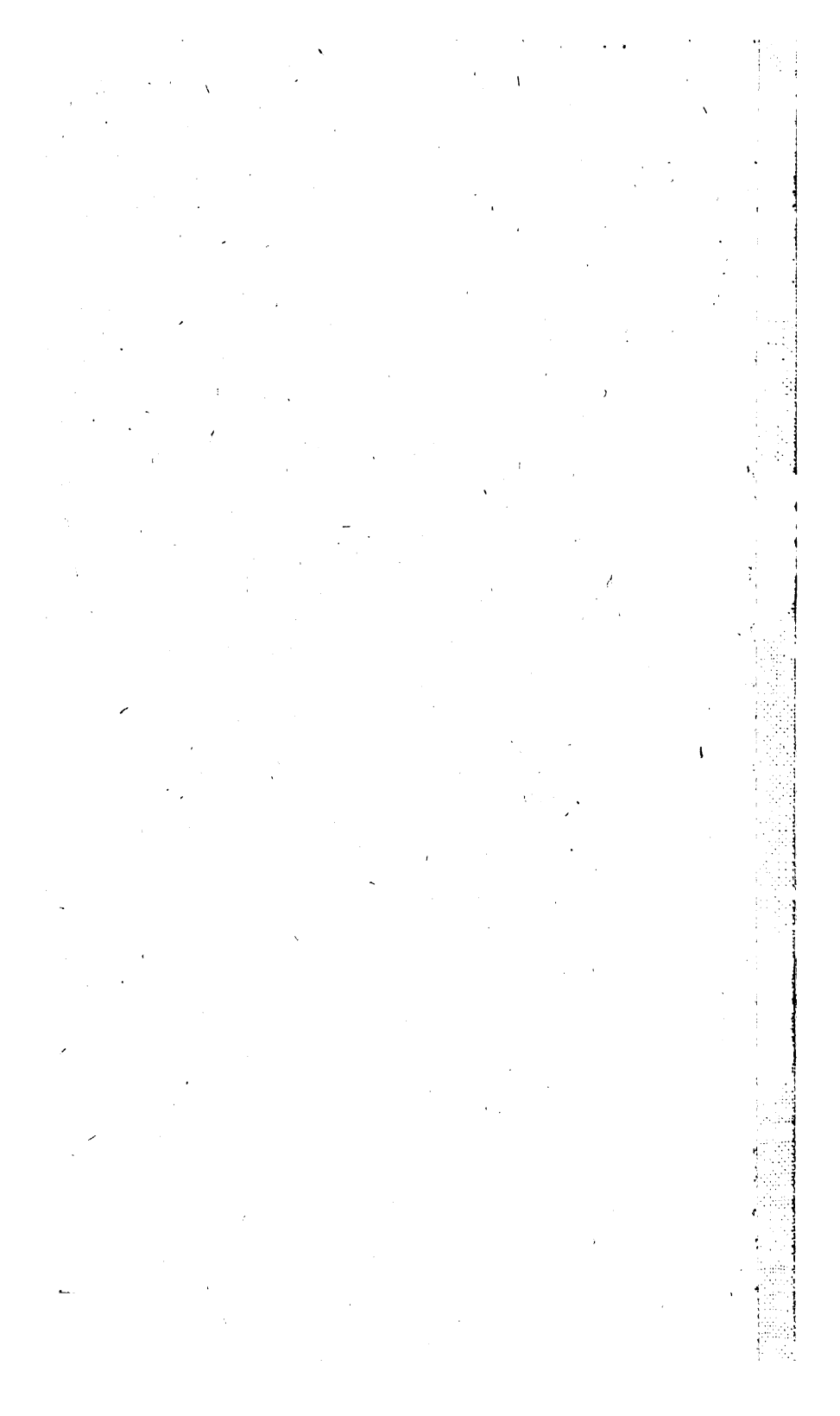
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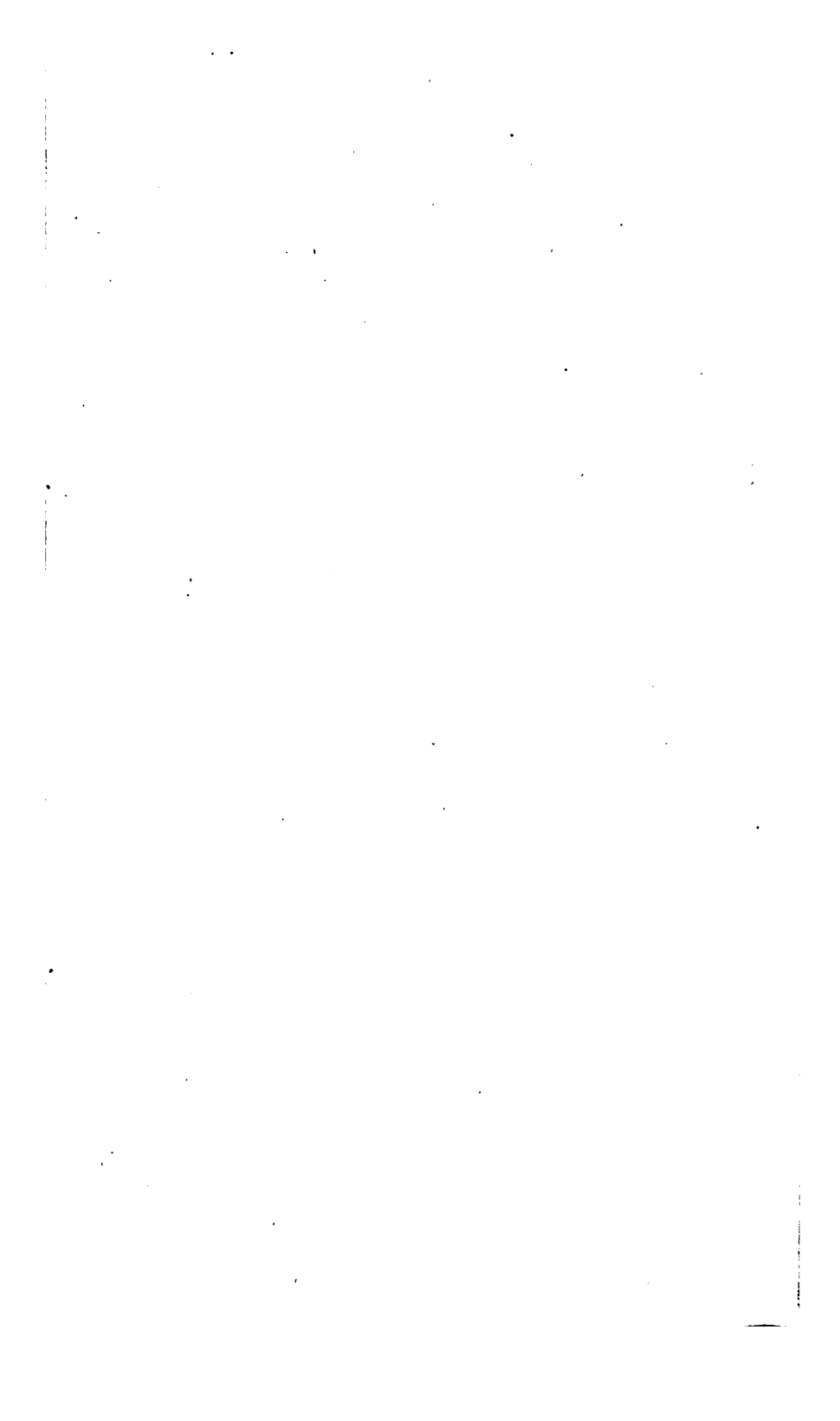
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V.I.

Charles
CPT







HISTORY
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
In Scotland,

IN THE YEARS
1715-16, AND 1745-46:

CONTAINING
AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE OCCURRENCES OF THESE YEARS;
TOGETHER WITH
AN AUTHENTIC DETAIL
OF THE DANGERS PRINCE CHARLES ENCOUNTERED
AFTER THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN,
WITH
A SHORT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE;
INTERSPERSED WITH A VARIETY OF ANECDOTES,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

By GEORGE CHARLES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

STIRLING:

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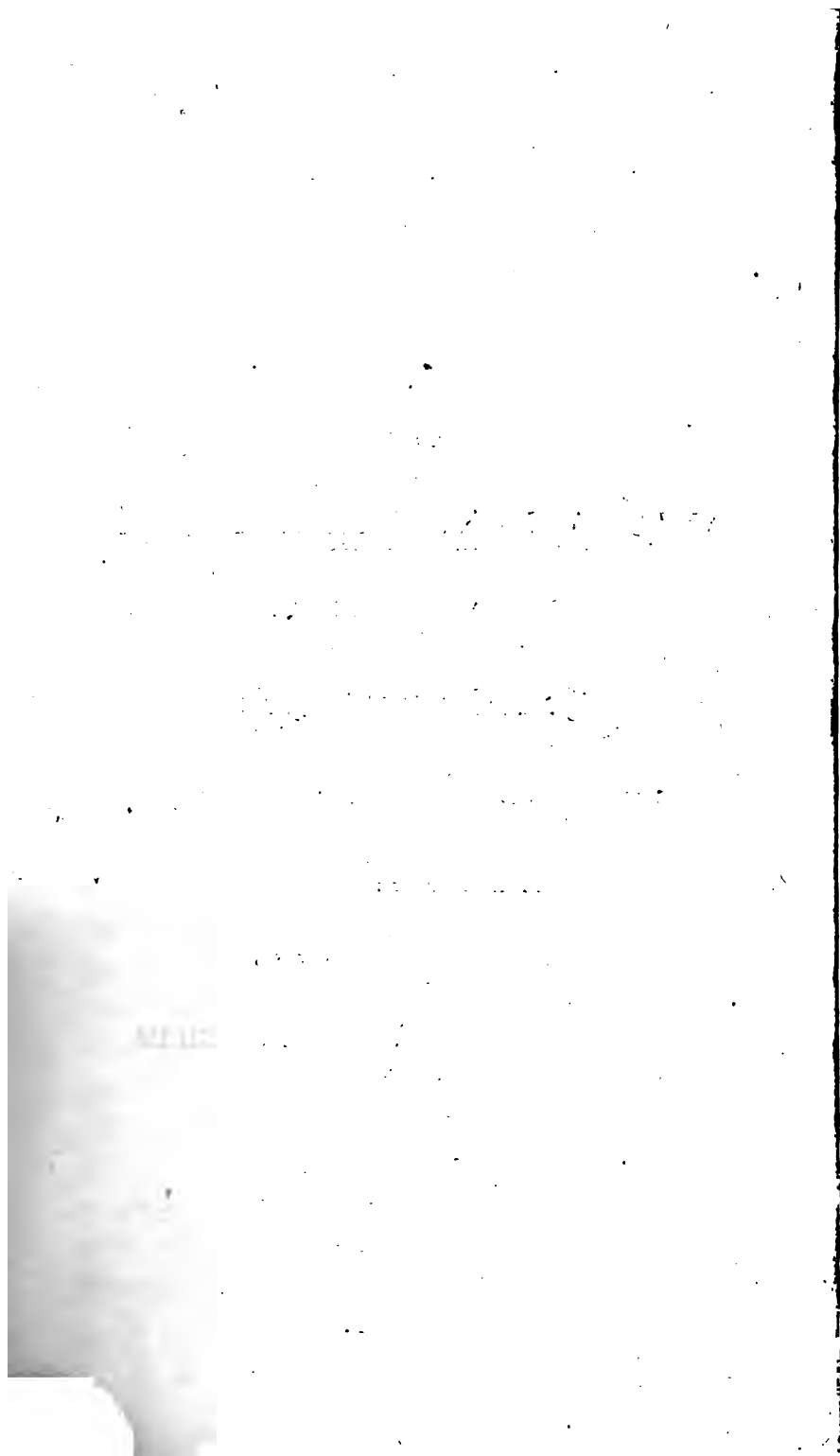
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BY HIS MOST HUMBLE

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

GEORGE CHARLES.



PREFACE.

THERE are few periods of our history which excite so much interest as the attempts made by the Stuart family in 1715 and 1745, to regain possession of the crown.

The harsh and impolitic measures of James VII. while in possession of the throne, and his pusillanimous conduct in adversity, alienated from him the affections of his people, and even of his confidential friends, so that he was driven from his exalted station by the almost unanimous consent of the country. The government which succeeded, used every means to keep up a spirit of hostility against the exiled family, notwithstanding which, circumstances occurred at the accession of Geo. I. which, had they been improved, might have led to its restoration; the English were discontented

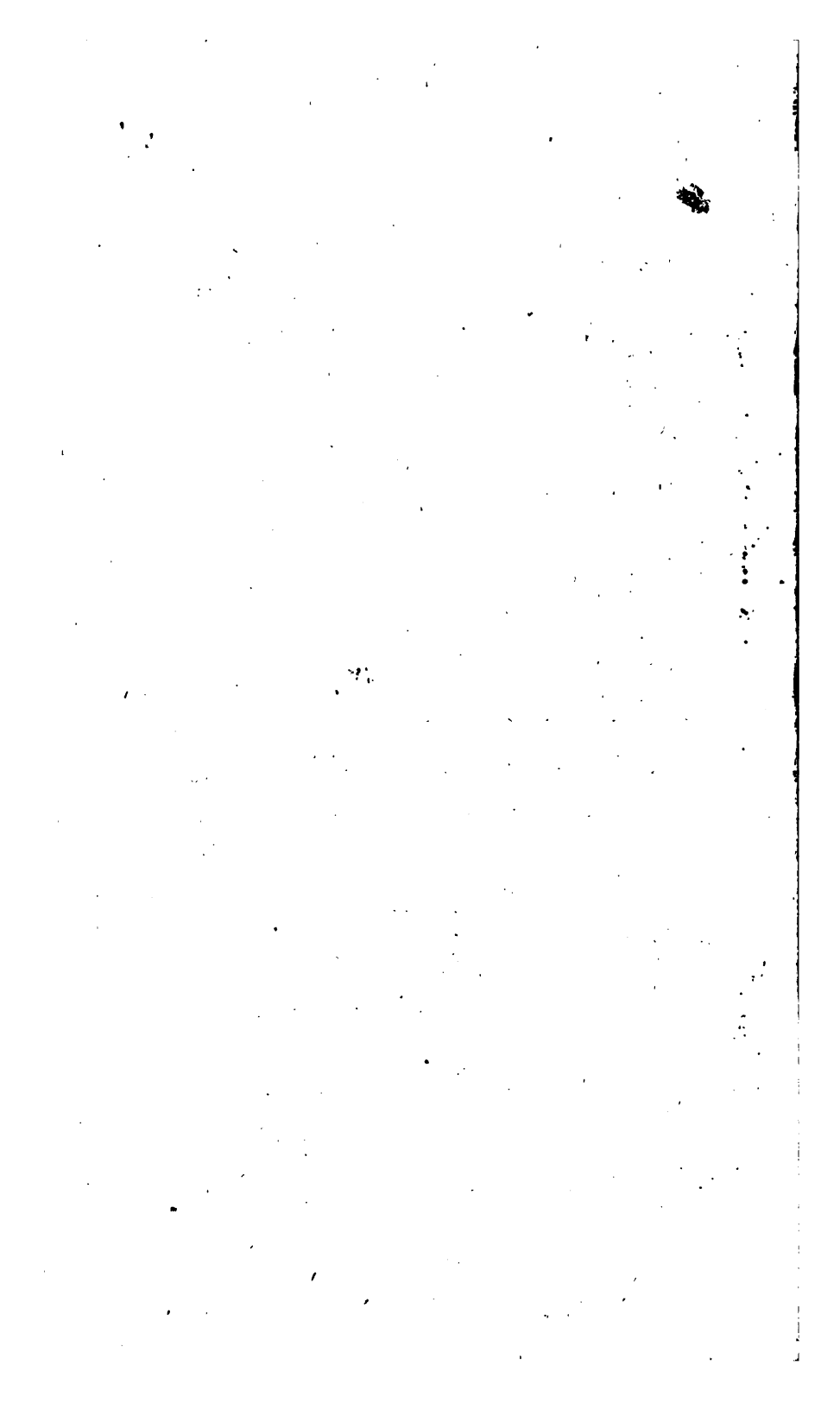
with the proceedings of the Whig ministry, and the Scots nation looked on the Union as an oppression of the most grievous kind. To an adventurous Prince a fairer opportunity could not have been given for asserting his pretensions; but the Chevalier de St George possessed no spirit of enterprise, for although his standard was raised in Scotland, to which almost all the Highland chiefs crowded, yet the incapacity of the Earl of Marr to direct the campaign, and his own irresolution, ruined his interests, and involved in it that of many families of high rank and honour.

Notwithstanding the failure of this enterprise, Prince Charles Edward was induced to make an attempt in 1745, which was attended with circumstances that give it rather the appearance of romance than true history. With a handful of hardy mountaineers he not only discomfited two armies of the government, but made himself master of all Scotland, marched into the heart of England, and struck terror into the capital; and when, from the overwhelming force that surrounded him, he was obliged to retreat, he did so without loss, in the middle of winter, inflicting a severe chastisement on the advanced guard of his pursuers. When we reflect on these actions, we are compelled to admire the courage, the military ta-

lent, the patience, and the fortitude of the leader, —the honour, the gallant daring, and the undaunted spirit of the army which accompanied him. And when at last his fortunes and his hopes were dissipated by a single battle, and he was seeking refuge in dens and caverns from his eager pursuers, with a great price set on his head, exposed to every hardship, no Highlander was found base enough to betray him, but with the most disinterested fidelity, relieved his wants, even at the hazard of their own destruction.

To give a history of these periods, therefore, embraces very interesting topics, and although the Editor is aware of his incompetence for the task, yet he has been at no small pains to collect facts from every source within his reach, to render the Work as correct and circumstantial as possible.

The time has happily gone by when to pity the misfortunes of the Stuart family was looked on as disaffection, and the operation of the best feelings of the heart construed into disloyalty. The liberality of the present age disdains such trammels, and rising above narrow prejudices, does not withhold its praise from the brave men who sacrificed their lives and fortunes to their principles, however mistaken they may now be considered.



TO

JAS. RAYMOND JOHNSTONE,

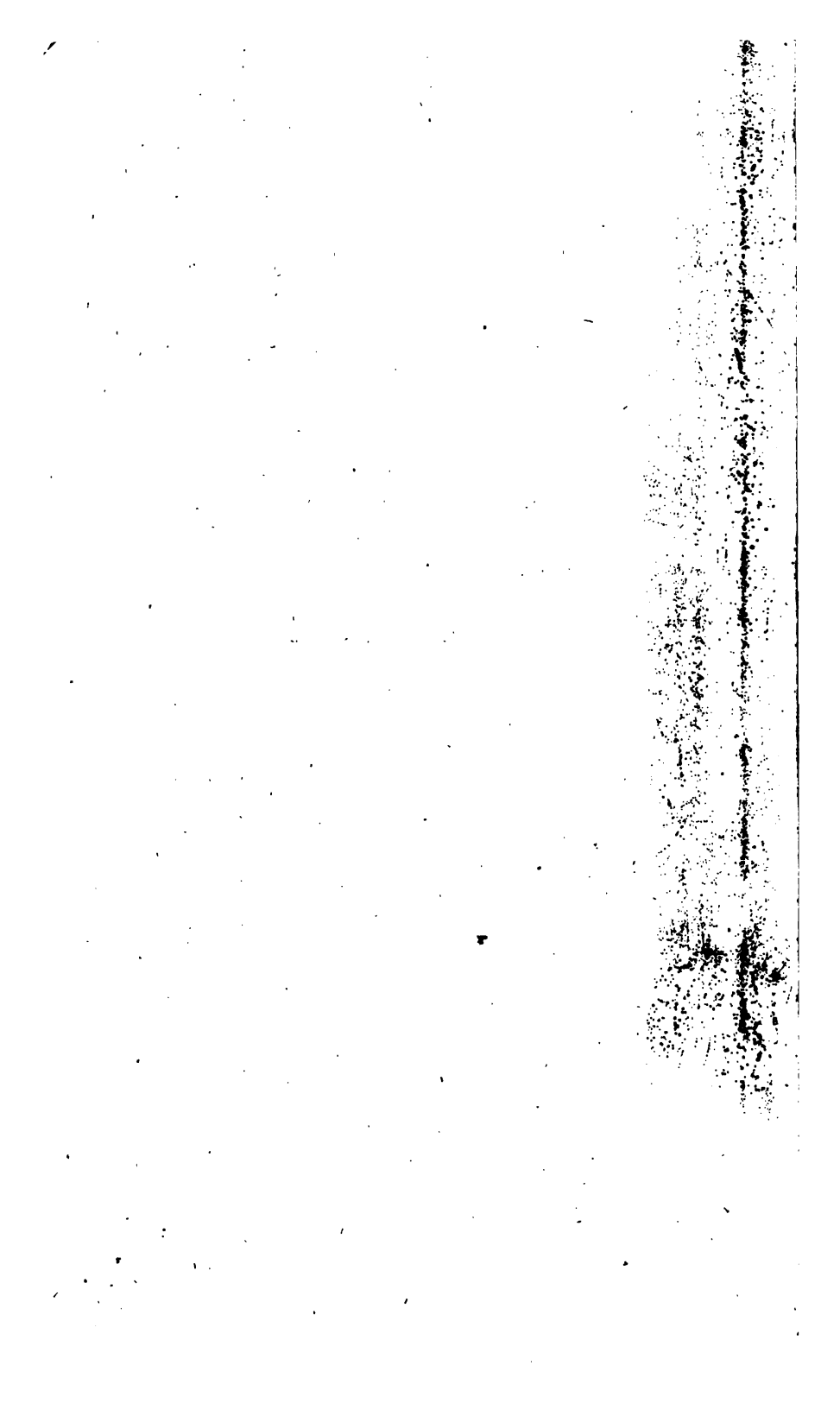
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TRANSACTIONS IN SCOTLAND,

During the years 1715-16.

SOME time before the close of the last session of the first Tory Parliament (which determined on the 16th July, 1713), a motion was made, and a bill brought into the House of Lords, by some of our Scottish Jacobite members, for dissolving the *Union*, by this means to ingratiate themselves with the people, who complained of the burdensome taxes they are thereby made liable to pay, and on purpose to procure the favour of such as had right to vote in the next election, for their being elected members of the following Parliament, wherein they doubted not to perfect their scheme for a

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NEW RESTORATION. That this artifice might be the more successful on the part of the Jacobites, they branded the Whig members as the only cause why that motion did not then take, and assured their Jacobite friends here, that they would certainly carry it through if they were members of the next Parliament, as attested by their letters, wherein they desired that they might make use of this argument in order to procure them votes.

But that this was only a calumny on the Whig members, on purpose to render them contemptible, will appear from the following account of the matter of fact, transcribed from a voucher that can with safety be depended on. "In a meeting of the whole Scots Lords and Commons, then at London, they came unanimously to this measure: that they would push the *dissolution of the Union* to the utmost; and till this was obtained, in the most solemn manner they engaged to one another, (as one man, without distinction) to oppose whatever party should set themselves up against them, in every vote, whatever should be the nature of it; and that they should try the state of our nation, first in the House of Lords, by moving for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the Union, which was done, and a day appointed for it. Our English friends told them they inclined to put no hardship on Scotland, and if the Scots would but give them reasonable satisfaction for the security of the Protestant succession,

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they would go heartily into their measures ; but our Scots Tories not having given them satisfaction in that point, occasioned the loss of the bill : for, upon lord Seafield's opening the bill in the house of Lords, the previous question was put, Proceed or delay ; the Tories being afraid that if it was delayed the Scots might be induced to satisfy the English about the succession, they all voted Proceed ; which was carried by two votes. For some few days only the Scots Tories kept with the Whigs in opposing the court, according to their former solemn agreement, and thereby carried every vote against them which infallibly would have forced them into our measures ; but this so alarmed the ministry, that they had recourse to promising, bribing, and cajolling our Scots Tories, which with the fears of disappointing their other darling Jacobite projects, at last prevailed with them to *return with the dog to the vomit.*"

From this it is evident, that the Tories themselves, though they had first made this motion for dissolving the Union, were the persons that crushed it, by their not giving satisfaction anent the succession, and breaking the concert they had entered into with the other Scots members : and that the chief thing they aimed at, was, under the specious pretence of breaking the Union, to cut off the Protestant succession in the family of Hanover, and consequently to overturn the present established

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government of our church, which are the two material articles of the Union, that give the greatest uneasiness to the Jacobite faction. This was so evident from their carriage towards both, that it could not be denied; and this popular device was the most probable-like way to hook men into their measures, till, by a new election, they were put in condition to ruin both by a law, in the next session of Parliament.

The malevolent aspect which the conduct of that party, during the foresaid three years, had to the Protestant interest and the happiness of Britain filled the hearts of those who had a due regard to the Protestant succession, their religion and liberties, with fears of approaching ruin, in so much that several of the well affected nobility and gentry, (amongst whom was the Rt. hon. the Earl of Buchanan; Messrs. Thomas, and Charles Erskine's, his brothers; Mr George Drummond; Mr Alexander Campbell, commissary of the artillery; Mr Robert Stewart, one of the regents of the college of Edinburgh; Mr James Nimmo; John Martin of Ayres, and others) had frequent meetings at Edinburgh, to consult what might be most proper for them to do at that juncture; and kept correspondence with their friends in the country, that both might be acquainted with the enemy's motions in every corner, and harmonious in their measures, in case of an invasion from abroad, or insurrection at home, which

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they had every reason to expect. This honorable company called the HANOVERIAN CLUB, did great service to his Majesty's interest; Mr Geo. Drummond gave spring to many of their motions, as also Mr Martin and several others. The activity of this club kept up the spirits of the friends of the interest elsewhere, when they were ready to sink, and gave spring and life to their motions to put themselves in condition to defend our religion, liberties, and the Protestant succession.

The ministers of the national church of Scotland, as they always testified their steady zeal and affection to the Protestant succession by law established in the family of Hanover, judged it their unquestionable duty to warn their people to be wary of being deluded by the Jacobites, into any such measures as might possibly pave the way to the Popish Chevalier. And, amongst others, a minister in Nithsdale published a pamphlet, at the concluding of the peace, entitled "*Britain's Alarm, or a seasonable warning to secure British Protestants,*" wherein he clearly demonstrated, that the Chevalier could neither by conquest, nor yet by consent of Parliament, come to the throne, without the ruin of Britain; for which, upon mere suspicion of his being the author, he was most insolently assaulted and rudely threatened by a number of the Jacobites.

Upon the 19th August thereafter, the commis-

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sion of the General Assembly (in name of this church) emitted a seasonable warning concerning the danger of popery; which they found to be growing mightily, especially in the northern parts, where a great many Priests and other trafficking Papists were entertained and encouraged, and with whom the episcopal clergy in these bounds conversed most familiarly; though in the mean time they could not endure the sight of a Presbyterian minister, whom they hated mortally, and often treated with the utmost spite and malice. And generally, the whole ministers of the established church made it their business to instil into their people, loyal principles, and to inculcate upon them, that it was their unquestionable duty and interest, with their lives and fortunes, to support, maintain, and defend the Protestant religion and succession, against the Chevalier and all his adherents and abettors.

And whereas a Proclamation had been emitted for the keeping a solemn thanksgiving for the safe and honourable peace, as it was called; yet the ministers of this church judging it not only cruel, in regard to the poor innocent *Catalans*, who were thereby made victims to the implacable rage and malice of King Philip of Spain, but dangerous to the Protestant succession, declined to observe it.

It may not be here unnecessary to acquaint the reader, that the Tories, to cover their pernicious designs in their forementioned procedure, and to

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render the best affected part of the nation secure, pretended some zeal for the Hanoverian succession; and therefore near the close of this *sederunt*, concurred with the Whigs in both houses in addressing the Queen to press for removing the Chevalier from Lorrain; yet the court-party had so little inclination to go into these measures though they had voted it, that no application was made to the duke of Lorrain, for four months after. And tho' then the lord Bolingbroke writes to Mr Prior, in compliance with these addresses, and says, "That her Majesty having repeated to the duke of Lorrain, the instances which you know have been so often made to the most christian king for removing the Chevalier to her crown; out of his dominions, I am directed to acquaint you therewith, that you may speak to the minister of Lorrain, and to any other minister whom you shall think proper, and let them know it is absolutely inconsistent with the amity and good correspondence that is between the Queen and their masters, to receive into their dominions, or to protect, a person who disputes her majesty's undoubted title, and thereby endeavours to disturb the peace and quiet of her kingdoms: that you may be able to shew them that this is the collective sense of the whole nation, as well as the queen's command, I herewith send you the addresses of both houses of Parliament:" yet there was no resentment or indignation conceived against the

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duke of Lorrain, for the indignity offered to her majesty, by his receiving and entertaining the Chevalier; but on the contrary, the lord Bolingbroke in another letter to Mr Prior within four days after that, recommends the interest of the duke of Lorrain to Mr Prior's care, and says, "In a word, you are enough apprised of his wants, of his expectations, and of her majesty's earnest desire, (if by any means she can) to contribute to the ease, and to the advantage of a Prince, who deserves much better usage than he has on many occasions met with."

The time of the next elections coming on, the utmost application was made by the Jacobite party to have a parliament suitable to their purpose; and though their efforts proved abortive in some places, yet in the main they carried it, *vis & Modis*, and had a good majority on their interest.

This gave them encouragement in the interval, before the meeting of the parliament, to form a new project in prejudice of the Protestant succession: for, whereas the Parliament by their act of the fourth and fifth of queen Anne, entitled, "An Act for the better securing her majesty's person and government, and the succession of the crown of England in the Protestant line," had empowered, "That person of the Hanoverian family who is to succeed, in case of her majesty's death without issue, at any time during her majesty's life, by

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three instruments under her or his hand and seal to appoint so many natural born subjects of England as she or he should think fit, to be added to the Lords Justices (appointed by that act) and to act with them as Lords Justices of England, to take care of the administration till the arrival of such successor:" and though her majesty, in her speech on the 19th of March 1708, when she gave the royal assent to the Regency bill, had thanked both houses of Parliament for that wise and effectual provision they had made to secure the Protestant succession in this kingdom; and had often repeated from the throne, her great concern to maintain the succession in the Protestant line, as by law established, yet the Jacobite faction gave out that their party was resolved to propose a bill for depriving the family of Hanover of that power, and to lodge it in her majesty, to name those additional Lords Justices in her will; or if that could not be obtained, to oblige the Hanover family publicly to name their Lords Justices, that they might be enrolled in chancery, pretending, as their reason for this project, that the church and the ministry will be in danger, if the Hanover family should name Whigs for this important trust. It cannot be ascertained whether this bill was ever brought in, however; it is certain, as the event proved, that it did not take.

The Parliament met upon the 16th of February

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1714, and during that whole session pursued their measures with the utmost application ; in so much that the High Church and Jacobite faction increased daily in number, and their inclinations for returning to Popery and slavery were as visible and strong as formerly those of the Israelites, to make themselves a captain, and return to the bondage and idolatry of Egypt ; and the grossest doctrines of Popery and tyranny, (such as indefeasible hereditary right, and irresistibility of Princes, with the necessity of a constant succession of Diocesan bishops, of all Ecclesiastical administrations by Priests, episcopally ordained, of auricular confession to them, absolution from them, and of propitiatory sacrifices offered up by them, instead of the Lord's supper,) had invaded the pulpits of the church of England.

The conduct of the court and parliament since the change of the late ministry, and particularly in the treaty of peace, had given such encouragement to Popery, that numbers of Papists came daily from France into Britain, whereof many were believed to be missionaries for propagating that which they called the Catholic Faith. It appears from the particular informations taken up, and brought into the commission of the General Assembly, during this session of parliament, by the several presbyteries of Scotland, that in some shires in the north, there were then about forty Popish

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Priests, Jesuits, and others in Pöpish order, who were all well known, appeared openly, and were so bold as take up their residence in these places, and publicly go about all the parts of their function : particularly, Mr Patrick Fraser in Fochabers ; Mr John Gordon at Upper Drimmyn ; Messrs Alexander Nicolson, *alias* Bishop Bruce, James Donaldson, Gordon *alias* Bishop Gordon, Fordyce, Buchanan, Abercromby, John Innes, and Robert Seaton, (brother to Garleton) in the county of Aberdeen ; Mr Hugh Ramsay, *alias* Strachan, son to James Ramsay of Thornton ; Mr Peter M'Donald about Glengary ; Mr Gordon about Mudarte ; Mr Walter Innes in Drumgask ; Mr Seaton, *alias* Ross, natural son to the earl of Dunfermline ; Mr Halket about Garioch ; Messrs Alexander M'Craw, and Eneas M'Lauchlan, in Kilmorrack ; Messrs Alexander, and Peter Reid, in Strathbogie ; Mr Charles Stewart, at Clastirum ; Mr John Irving, at Castle Gordon ; Mr Alexander Drummond, at Muthill, or Castle Drummond ; besides six or seven Priests in the bounds of the presbytery of Sky, and some about Lochaber, and bounds of the presbytery of Lorn, and among others in the south, Mr Francis Morray in Kirkconnel, in the bounds of the presbytery of Dumfries, and many more who were travelling through the country, suspected to be priests and missionaries from Rome, going under borrowed names and disguised characters.

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These were so cunning, industrious, and diligent in making Prosylites, that in a short time they perverted vast numbers of ignorant people to their errors; and about the presbytery of Sky, were whole parishes by these means kept in Romish darkness; in the bounds of Lochaber, Glengary, Moidart, and Arisaig, Popery daily increased to a lamentable degree, so that the Priests residing in these bounds said mass publicly almost every Lord's day, to swarms of their deluded prosylites. In the united parishes of Crathie in Kindroch, there were near 200 people perverted to Popery, in a few years time. In the parish of Kilmorroch, county of Inverness, the Priests who resided there had perverted, in the same time, a hundred families to Popery, which made by far the greater part of that people. In the parish of Bellay alone, there were upwards of six hundred papists; and in the parishes of Kinore and Dumbennan, the Papists were equal in number to the Protestants; by which few instances, the reader may judge what success these Romish agents had in their antichristian design to ruin the Protestant religion.

One Mr Bruce, a Popish bishop had his ordinary residence in Perthshire, where the Priests and Emissaries of inferior rank resorted for their directions and orders; and as he and the Priest, in several places, had their known houses of residence, so had they also mass-houses and fixed places of

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worship, to which their blind votaries resorted almost as publicly as the Protestants to their parish churches; and in which they publicly proclaimed persons in order to marriage, as if their meetings had been legal assemblies; and officiated as freely and formally as if they had been countenanced by authority. They also, in those parts, set up Popish schools, and carried off numbers of boys to be trained up in Popish colleges abroad, that afterwards they might be missionaries to pervert others to the abominable errors of the Romish church.

And lest the law should one time or other recover vigour and happen to be executed against them, they appeared prepared to overturn the law, lest they should not be always able to elude it. Therefore, contrary to express law, they were generally well armed: the highland clans of their religion were said to have pensions paid them to hold themselves ready to march upon a call; and the leaders kept frequent meetings with their Popish priests, of which there was a very numerous one held in the country of Badenoch, in August 1712. The chiefs of the other highland clans, who were declared Jacobites, were under pay by the government, and had £.4000 *per annum* constantly sent them out of the public treasury, under the pretence of keeping them in good order and subjection to her majesty, avoiding all close correspondence with the Papists. And it was heard from those parts,

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that a considerable number of arms, with other warlike stores, were brought them from abroad. It was also reported, that officers from France were secretly dropped into several parts of the nation, to head their Popish and Jacobite friends in a general insurrection; and a sudden massacre was feared by many of the lovers of the true Protestant interest.

Whereupon the well affected nobility and gentry, with the ministers of the gospel, &c. considering, that by the law of nature, and the standing laws of the nation, they were obliged and warranted to provide for the security of their lives, liberties, religion, and the Protestant succession in the family of Hanover, they judged it absolutely necessary, that suitable measures should be speedily taken to put themselves and their people in a posture of defence. And upon a concert of the well affected gentlemen in the southern and western parts of Scotland, with advice of our worthy friends, at Edinburgh, a meeting was held at Dalmellington, in Kyle, on the 18th of March; where were present Sir William Cuninghame of Cuninghame-head, Lieut. col. William Maxwell of Cardoness, Alexr. Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Thomas Gordon of Earlestoun, Porterfield of Duchel, Baillie Charles Miller from Glasgow, Baillie M'Tagart from Irvine, Captain John Campbel in Cassiles, James M'Adam of Waterhead, with some others, to the

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number of twelve or fourteen in all; who after serious reasoning about the dangerous state of the nation, came to some resolutions, which they drew up in writing; an exact Double whereof follows:

At Dalmellington, this 18th day of March, 1714.

“SEVERAL gentlemen from the southern and western parts of this nation, being apprised of the dangers that both the civil and religious liberties of these nations seem to be under, from the growth of Popery, and the insults of Papists and Jacobites, made upon our laws, and constitution, owning themselves boldly to be in the interest of a POPISH PRETENDER, in defiance of the said laws, and openly arming themselves for putting their wicked designs in execution, have, out of their zeal for the queen’s majesty, and support of her government, the Protestant succession in the family of Hanover, and for maintenance of our happy constitution in church and state, thought fit, for strengthening one another’s hands, to lay down the measures following, for their joint security, viz.

1mo. “That a general correspondence be kept among the well affected nobility, gentry, and citizens within the shires of Clydesdale, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and Nithsdale, with the Stewart-ries and Bailliaries thereof; and that their meet-

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“ ing be once a quarter; and their first meeting is
“ to be at Dalmellington, upon the first of June
“ next.

2do. “ It is recommended to the said persons
“ to fix a particular meeting in each Shire, Stew-
“ artry, Bailliary and Burgh; where such a num-
“ ber of well affected persons shall be invited to
“ be present, as in prudence may be judged pro-
“ per for carrying on the said design: and that
“ they send such a number of correspondents to
“ the general meeting, as the necessity of affairs
“ at the time shall require.

3tio. “ It is likewise thought adviseable, that at
“ the general meeting there be correspondence
“ kept with the well-affected in other places of this
“ nation, particularly with our friends at Edin-
“ burgh, either by letters, or having some of them
“ present as shall be thought most expedient; and
“ that the measures at the said meeting may be
“ the better concerted, it is thought requisite that
“ they have intelligence frequently from London,
“ not only from their own members who are there
“ during the session of Parliament, but from some
“ other knowing persons of the English nation,
“ who are friends to the interest.

4to. “ In further prosecution of the said design,
“ that it be recommended to some particular gen-
“ tlemen of the shires of Ayr and Galloway, to keep
“ a correspondence, in name of the said meeting,

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“ with our friends in the kingdom of Ireland;
“ whereby such methods may be gone into, as may
“ be for their mutual security.

5to. “ And for their mutual defence and securi-
“ ty, let it be earnestly recommended to each of
“ the said particular meetings, to fall upon such
“ prudent and expeditious methods to put their
“ people in a defensive posture, in such a manner
“ as they shall see proper, and conform to law.”

Accordingly they proceeded; particular meetings were kept in the several districts, and in a short time after, methods were fallen upon by these honourable gentlemen and the other friends to the Protestant interest, for arming and training the country. It is to be regretted that the names and designations of the other honourable persons, are not known, who in the west, and about Edinburgh were active this way; but Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, Thomas Gordon of Earlstoun, with some others in Galloway, and Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch, and other well-affected gentlemen in Nithsdale, (with whom the ministers of the gospel in these bounds concurred,) advanced considerable sums of money, and therewith provided the country with arms and ammunition: and took care to have them acquainted with military exercises, that they might be in better condition to defend.

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their lives, their liberties, their religion and the Protestant succession, against what was projected by the Popish and Jacobite party; though they durst not yet avouch it openly.

When those who were firm friends to the house of Hanover were alarmed with the Jacobite highlanders being provided with arms, they instantly set about also to provide, and put themselves in condition to prevent the fate they had just reason to apprehend; even then, (and not till then) orders were sent down to secure all arms and ammunition imported; and the Jacobites, apprehending the day was their own, observed the motions of those who were known to be well affected to the Protestant succession, made visits to some remote places, where it was expected some would be met to exercise within doors, on purpose to misrepresent them to the government. And one William Scot, a serjeant in the castle of Edinburgh, being discovered training some well-disposed young men in a malt-loft at Edinburgh, was therefore turned out of his post, committed to prison, and got not out till the middle of July. Soon after, he was sent for by the gentlemen and ministers in the presbytery of Penpont, to assist in training their people, and continued there till after the queen's decease; and since that time the government had rewarded his good services, by presenting him with a pair of colours.

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But before coming to the conclusion of this scene, it will not be improper to observe, that the Jacobite party were come to such a pitch, that books and libels, asserting the Chevalier's right against that of Hanover, were openly published and sold by their agents; after which it was declared a crime to speak or write in favour of that illustrious family: in so much that Mr Steele was arraigned before the house of Commons for defending the legal settlement of the crown, and saying in some of his writings, *that the Protestant succession was in danger*. And although in his defences he handsomely acquitted himself, and it was clearly made appear, by the speeches of Mr Walpole, Sir David Dalrymple, and other worthy members, made on that occasion, that what Mr Steele was accused of was undeniable fact, and that he was justifiable in what he had said; yet on the 18th of March he was excluded the house, by a vote of 245 against 152.

Upon the 5th of April, the lords had under their consideration the state of the nation in respect of the Chevalier; and after a long debate, in which the danger we were in was held forth in the strongest manner, by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Nottingham, Lord Wharton, and others, a question was moved, If the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger? and the lord chancellor moved to add these words, [*under her majesty's government*]; but after a long discourse against this

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addition, made by one who had lately broke off from the faction, the question was put, add these words or not? and it carrying to add them, the main vote was carried in the negative, viz. That the Protestant succession was not in danger under her majesty's government.

Upon this the Whigs moved to address her majesty, which was presented April 8th, that she would be pleased, by her royal proclamation, to set a price on the Chevalier, dead or alive, if found in her majesty's dominions; and likewise to address, that her majesty would renew her instances in the most effectual manner to have him removed from Lorrain; and that she would enter into treaties with all the powers formerly in alliance with her majesty, (particularly the Dutch and the Emperor) to become guarantees for the succession of the house of Hanover; both which addresses carried without opposition, which gave a mortifying stroke to the Tories. But when these noble heroes voted the address for promising a reward to any who should bring in the Chevalier dead or alive, in case he were found as aforesaid, one of her majesty's privy counsellors rose up and said, It was an heinous offence, and against the principles of a christian to offer any such reward.

Upon the 12th of April, baron Schutz, the minister of the elector of Hanover, demanded from the lord chancellor a writ for the duke of Cambridge

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to take his place in the house of Peers. His lordship said it was unprecedented to send any writ out of the kingdom, but at the same time hoped he would not think he refused it. The baron replied, that he took this for a final answer, but as the wind was fair, the duke of Cambridge would soon be in Britain to demand it himself. On this the cabinet council was called and sat till three next morning, where, some say, matters of the greatest importance were debated, but withal kept secret; and the writ was ordered to be issued out; but that he never got it will afterwards appear.

The Tories, fearing they would be abridged of their liberty in acting so freely as they designed, and had heretofore done, in favors of the Chevalier, if the duke of Cambridge should come over and take his place in Parliament, as a Peer of Great Britain, they took occasion, from the foresaid demand and answer, to insinuate to the queen, that the friends of the Hanover succession had entered into measures to fix the duke of Cambridge in her majesty's dominions, while she was yet alive; that thereby they might irritate her majesty against that illustrious family. Hereupon Lord Paget was appointed her majesty's envoy to Hanover, and to carry over with him two minatory letters in order to stop the duke, which are here inserted. The first is to the Princess Sophia, his grandmother, who died at Harrenhausen, about ten days after.

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"Madam, my Sister and Aunt,

"SINCE the right of succession to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a Prince of your blood in my dominions even whilst I am yet living. I never thought till now that this project would have gone so far, as to have made the least impression on your mind; but as I have lately perceived by publick rumours, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences that will be dangerous to that succession itself, which is not secure otherwise, than as the Prince who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (such is our misfortune) a great many people that are seditiously disposed: so I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent that the least thing should be done that may disturb the repose of me or my subjects.

"Open yourself to me with the same freedom as I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the Succession: I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain.

"I am, with a great deal of affection, &c. &c."

St. James's, May }
19th, 1714. }

*To my Sister and Aunt, Electress
dowager of Brunswick and Lunenburg.*

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THE OTHER IS TO THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE:

"Cousin,

"AN accident which has happened in my lord Paget's family, having hindered him to set forward so soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have of coming into my kingdom. As the opening of this matter ought to have been first ~~me~~, so I expected you would not have given ear to it without knowing my thoughts about it: however, what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you and the electoral house to which you belong, joined to the true desire I have that it may succeed to my kingdoms, oblige me to tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"I am with a great deal of friendship,

St. James's,

St. James's, May }
19th, 1714. }

"Your affectionate Cousin."

At the same time the earl of Oxford, to cover his traiterous designs against the said succession, sent the following letter to the duke of Cambridge, wherein he dissembled the lowest submission, profound veneration and respect to this royal duke and the Protestant succession, when, at the same time, he was labouring to undermine it.

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“ May it please your Royal Highness,

“ Tho’ I expect Mr Harley every moment in return from your
 “ court, and thereby shall have another opportunity of doing my-
 “ self the honour to present your Royal Highness with my most
 “ humble duty, and the assurance of my utmost service : yet I
 “ cannot slip this occasion of the Queen’s messenger attending
 “ your Royal Highness with her Majesty’s letter, to lay myself
 “ at your feet. I have no enemy that knows me, who is not just
 “ enough to allow me to be inviolably attached to your succes-
 “ sion, nothing coming into competition with that ; because I
 “ know I please the Queen when I am zealous for the service of
 “ your serene house. I hope therefore I shall find credit with your
 “ Royal Highness, when I humbly lay my sincere opinion before
 “ you. The Queen is most heartily for *your succession* : if there
 “ be any thing which may render it more secure, which is con-
 “ sistent with her majesty’s safety, it will be accomplished. It
 “ is not the eager desire of some, nor what flows from the advice
 “ of others, whose discontents perhaps animated their zeal, can
 “ balance the security you have in the Queen’s friendship, and
 “ the dutiful affection of all her faithful subjects ; for, as I am
 “ sure your Royal Highness’s great wisdom would not chuse to
 “ rule by a party, so you will not let their narrow measures be
 “ the standard of your government. I doubt not but the acci-
 “ dent that happened about the Writ, may be improved to en-
 “ crease the most perfect friendship between the Queen and your
 “ most serene family. I still study to do every thing to demon-
 “ strate the profound veneration and respect wherewith I am,

“ May it please your Royal Highness,

“ Your Royal Highness’s most dutiful,

“ most humble and most obedient Servant,

OXFORD.

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But, to return to a narration of things in due order, Upon the 1st of May 1714, the privy council of Ireland rejected the mayor and sheriffs of Dublin chose by the Aldermen, the gentlemen so chosen being enemies to Popery; and the worthy recorder and a great many other persons of distinction, who voted for these true Protestants, had fallen a sacrifice to the impious mobs, if one Captain Hales, noted for his zeal to his country, had not seasonably come in with some guards to their relief, for which noble action that officer was ordered to be discarded.

And the Commons of Ireland, in their zeal for the Hanover succession and the Protestant interest having offered a reward to any who should apprehend and bring in the Chevalier, dead or alive, in case he should land in the kingdom of Ireland, were mightily reproached by the Jacobites. And these worthy patriots observing the danger that was coming on the nation by the male-administration of those times, addressed the queen for removing Sir Constantine Phipps from being chancellor; but this favour was denied them; and for that address, and other such generous actions in favour of the Protestant religion and Hanoverian succession that Parliament was dissolved.

Upon the 14th of May, an hundred and fifty men, listed for the Chevalier, were all in a body in that kingdom, ready to sail for France; and in a

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few weeks after, others were listed in and about London, by two Irish officers. In a word, the Papists in Ireland had been so much countenanced since the change of the former ministry, that by this time they appeared every where in great numbers, were daily providing themselves with arms, and talking of a speedy revolution to their advantage.

A few days after this, the general assembly of the church of Scotland sent up an address to her majesty, wherein they set forth the extraordinary growth of Popery, there, and the bold and insolent carriage of Popish bishops, Priests and Jesuits; and their going publicly to mass, and confirming great numbers of people (especially in the north) as in Popish countries; but I have heard of no redress. But on the other hand, the address of the Jacobite highlanders in Argyle-shire, and that of the Jacobite episcopal clergy in the diocese of Aberdeen, presented to her majesty some weeks before, (April 10th 1714) were graciously received, and Duncan Campbell of Lochinell, who presented the former, had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by her majesty: and leave was given by the Parliament to Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, Mr James Murray and other Jacobite members, to bring in a bill for enquiring into all gifts of the bishop's rents in Scotland, made since the Revolution, that the same might be uplifted for the use of the foresaid

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clergy; as appears from the votes. And the Papists and other Jacobites in the south, had also frequent meetings, and sometimes publicly espoused the Chevalier's interest, as the following remarkable instance will make evident.

“ Upon Saturday the 29th of May, there was a great confluence of gentlemen and country people at Lochmaben, on the occasion of a horse-race there; two plates, which were the prizes, had peculiar devices: the one had a Woman with ballances in her hand, the emblem of Justice, and over the head was *Justitia* and at a little distance, *Suum Cuique*. The other had several men with their heads downwards, in a tumbling posture; and one eminent person erected above the rest with that cripture, *Ezek. 21. 27. I will Overturn, Overturn, Overturn it, and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is, and I will give it him.* After the race, the Popish and Jacobite gentry, such as Francis Maxwel of Tinwall, John Maxwel his brother, Robert Johnston of Wamphrey, Robert Carruthers of Rammerscales, the master of Bursleigh, (who was afterwards under sentence of death for murder, and a little before he was to have been executed, from the tolbooth of Edinburgh made his escape) with several others, went to the cross, where in a very solemn manner, before hundreds, with drums beating and colours displayed, they did, upon their knees, drink *their King's health*. The year before,

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they had another such meeting, on the like occasion, in the same place; and their plate had the King in the royal oak, with this inscription, *God will restore*; and medals were produced with the Chevalier's head on one side, with this motto, *Cujus est*; and on the reverse *Britannia*, or the islands of Great Britain, with *Reddite*. But yet the government took no notice of them.

Upon the 21st of June, in compliance with the address of the house of Lords, (dated April 8th), the queen emitted a proclamation against the Chevalier, promising a reward of £.5000 to any person or persons who should apprehend him, and bring him before some Justice of Peace, or other Magistrate, &c. in case he landed or attempted to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any other of her majesty's dominions,

About the beginning of July, the insolence of Papists, Nonjurors and Jacobites in England, was come to such a height that they publicly asserted the Chevalier's right to the crown, and drank his health by the name of James the Third.

On Monday the 12th of July, a Writ was demanded by the Baron de Bothmar, of the lord chancellor Harcourt, for the duke of Cambridge to come into Great Britain to sit in the house of Peers; and that minister of his electoral highness, who asked for this Writ, was for no other offence forbid the court; and, some say, he immediately de-

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parted for Hanover. And beside the three fore-mentioned letters, the government dispatched another, which was still more reflecting upon that royal family.

The Parliament being on the 9th of July prorogued to the 10th of August, the Jacobites expected, and others feared, that, at their next meeting, they would alter the Succession, and entail the crown upon the Chevalier; and some of that party confidently affirmed that her majesty would resign it in favor of him; alledging her indisposition in April and May, (whereof she was perfectly cured) was the reason it was not done while the Parliament was sitting, but that she would certainly have things in order, and do it at their next sitting down; or, at least, that an act would be made enabling the queen, at her death, to nominate her successor, as had been done in the days of King Henry VIII. and of Queen Elizabeth, who, by her will, left her kingdom to King James VI. of Scotland. And, indeed, the author of *the enquiry into the mismanagement of the last four years of the late reign*, assures us, "that the draught of a will was found among the late queen's papers; but as the same was neither signed nor executed, he gives us no account of the contents."

We are told also by the same author, that "the matter was come to this issue, that several half-pay officers were closeted by a certain nobleman, and

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demanded, "whether they would serve the Queen without asking questions?" which some prostituted tools of the Projector, who were fit for any desperate attempt, readily accepted of, and were promised companies in the Guards." And that in the new modelling the army of Ireland, "In the room of the nine battalions and seventy-two officers to be entirely laid aside, being thought improper instruments for the design they had in hand, fifty new battalions were to be raised that should be sure to obey all commands; one of which was said to be appointed for a Popish Lord." They also talked of modelling the British Guards; and a list of the honest and brave officers they designed to cashier, was handed about, and hath since been published. And moreover, "the maritime places, and particularly the town of Portsmouth, the main fort of all, were found by the Lords Justices, after her majesty's decease, unprovided both of men and warlike stores, not able to make any defence in case of a powerful invasion, which might have been expected if her majesty had not been called off the throne by sudden death, which are clear indications of the mischief designed to the Protestant interest in Britain.

But, before closing this tragical scene, it may not be improper to acquaint the reader, that vast numbers of Popish Priests and Jesuits, and others of the Chevalier's friends, were come over to Eng-

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land from France, to prepare the way for the intended Restoration; and one Sir Patrick Lawless, formerly the Chevalier's minister at Madrid, had been some months there, and was daily seen at court. This dangerous man had a private audience of her majesty some short time before her death; which gave just ground of jealousy to the nation, and occasioned many observations and reflections amongst all parties. The duke D' Aumont had also a private audience; and, it was reported, the Chevalier himself was twice with her majesty in her closet: 'tis alledged he came over in that duke's retinue.

But a few days before the queen's death, the Tory ministry had gained their point, in bringing her majesty to consent to enter into immediate measures for a more effectual administration, and for an entire purging the court, army, navy, and, in general, all trusts of what kind soever, of the very name or appearance of a Whig.

They that know any thing of the measures then taken, (says a late author) know very well that the ministry had resolved to have every thing ready in a very little time, that whenever the queen's death should happen, they might be in no confusion, but have every thing ready, as well for setting the Chevalier on the throne, as for preventing and suppressing any attempts which might otherwise be made in favor of the Protestant Successor, accord-

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ing to the scheme lately laid down and agreed to, at the famous consultations held, as some say, at Somerset-house, at the time of the masquerades.

Things were now come to so nice a crisis, that if the queen had been afflicted with a lingering sickness, nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from ruin; for, according to these measures, it was most certain, that in a very few days, the whole strength and power of the nation would have been put into such hands, and the opportunity of their design been so much in their power, that really one can scarce charge them with arrogance, in saying, as they did to one of their friends, "That the Devil himself was not able to hinder their schemes from taking place, whenever they thought fit to begin their purpose."

But Providence had embarrassed their common patron, the French King, by the wars with the Catalans; the divisions amongst his clergy, and betwixt himself and that part of them who were against the Pope's constitution; the prospect of dismal contentions in his own family, about the Regency, during the young Dauphin's minority; and the Succession, in case he should die without issue, created him great uneasiness. The Peace betwixt him and the emperor was not yet concluded; he had not been able to bring the war betwixt the Turks and the Christians in their neighbourhood, to bear; nor had he accomplished the return of the

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king of Sweden, to embroil the empire and the north, in order to disable the Protestant powers in those parts, to give any support to the Hanover succession, so that, at that time, he was not in condition to assist the ministry in setting the Chevalier on the throne of Great Britain. Infinite wisdom raised also divisions among the ministry themselves, by which their measures were all disconcerted. Their own Parliament, which had gone along with them in every thing, and approved of the late Peace, as safe, honourable, and advantageous, before they knew it, could not be brought to approve of the eighth and ninth articles of Commerce with France, when they saw the treaty, and that our trade was in effect given up by it. This did much alarm the trading part of the nation, and at last, with other ingredients, broke the Tory ministers amongst themselves. Lord Bolingbroke, and those who adhered to him, had the advantage over the earl of Oxford and his friends, in the controversy; so that the latter had the *white staff* taken from him, and the duke of Shrewsbury was appointed Lord Treasurer.

By this breach amongst them, their mutual confidence was lost, and their affairs run into such confusion, that, notwithstanding the dangerous state of the queen's health, which threatened them with the worst of consequences, they could not cement again, but furiously charged one another, in

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her majesty's presence, with those treasonable practices, which would have been Capital to have charged any of them with, before this rupture. At length it pleased Almighty God to take the queen out of their hands, that they might no more be capable of abusing her name and authority, to the designed subversion of our religion and liberty; for on Thursday, 29th July, to their great amazement and to the confounding all their devices, the queen was taken suddenly, and in a most surprising manner, struck with death. And though it may be said she languished, for alive she scarce could be called, for two or three days, yet from the first moment it was visible to them, and to every one about her, that it was not possible she could get over it. This sudden blow disconcerted all their measures, and was a mortal stab to the whole scheme, which was so accurately laid, and so well digested for their own establishment, and putting it into their power to form the Succession as they thought fit.

The same author tells us, that the queen's physicians had given in their opinion, that her majesty having recovered from the illness and indisposition which had seized her a little before at Windsor; that little shock given to her constitution, having been easily and effectually removed by timely application, had confirmed her majesty's health, and she was, in their opinion, in a much better

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state of body than she had been for two years before. And one of the most intimate of them, had pretended by some art, whether calculations, magic, or other infernal speculation, to tell the great men, "that the queen would live six years and a half." This was certainly a reason why they were the more secure, and had not their design complete, and all orders and warrants in readiness for the execution thereof; and by how much they had been persuaded that the queen was out of danger, so much the greater was their surprise at her sudden distemper; by which they were in one day's time removed from a confidence in her living a great while, to a certainty that she would die in a very few hours.

The first alarm of the queen's illness and surprising distemper, brought the whole party together to court, as well the great officers, as the privy counsellors of the other sex; and they being met in a certain lady's apartment, where business of the nicest nature used to be familiarly discussed, they found that my lady was with the queen; and the countess of — who had been with her majesty for some hours, had retired for a little rest, whereupon they sent for the countess, who came sick into the room, all in tears; and thereafter sent for the lady, who came presently, but in the utmost disorder; and as soon as she entered, without staying for the question, cries out, "Oh! my lords,

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we are all undone; entirely ruined; the queen's a dead woman; all the world cannot save her."

Upon this, one of the lords asked if the queen had her senses, and if the lady thought she could speak to them: the lady replied, "that is impossible; her pain deprives her of all sense, and in the interval she dozes, and speaks to nobody." "This is hard indeed," said another of the lords, "could she but speak to us, and give us orders, and sign them, we might do the business for all this." "Alas!" said another lord, "who would act by such orders, my lord? we are all undone." To whom another replied, "then, my lord, we could not be worse; I assure you, if her majesty would give me orders to proclaim her lawful successor, in her lifetime, I would do it at the head of the army, and answer for the soldiers."

The countess begged them to wave debates; for says she, there is nothing to be done; her majesty is no more capable of directing any thing; she is half dead already; I'll die for her, if she lives four and twenty hours." That lord returned, "Lord! what an unhappy thing is this! what a cause is here lost at one blow! is there no remedy, my lords?" whereupon, after some discourse, they sent the lady to see if there was any alteration on the queen; she presently returned, and told them, "It is all the same, she is drawing on, she dies upwards, her feet are dead and cold already."

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After some further discourse, the question was put, What they were to do as to their former resolutions? in answer to which, one of the lords made the following speech: " My lords, I believe our opinions are the same, and our wishes the same; but you see heaven has broke all our measures: and I think it is our business to let those things die for the present, and reserve ourselves for another opportunity. It is certain the council is met; and (I hear they have an instrument for a Regency, signed according to the act, deposited among them by the Envoy of Hanover) there it will immediately be proposed to send over a deputation to the elector of Hanover. I dare say there are none of us here so ill acquainted with his own interest and safety, as to oppose it: that would give the Whigs all the advantage over us they could wish. I think our business is to be first in the thing, and as we are the queen's immediate household servants, and are by the act to continue six months in our posts, it is our office to do this, and by our freedom in doing it, we shall have the advantage of the Whigs many ways: 1st, We shall effectually answer and confute all the calumnies and reproaches they have cast upon us, of our being in the Chevalier's interest, which no one can have the boldness to say again, when they shall see that we have been the first and most forward to preserve the Succession, and place the Successor upon the throne. 2d. We

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will secure our employments, by engaging the elector of Hanover to us, in gratitude for our seeming loyalty to him; for he will not pretend to fall upon us, after we have done a service of that consequence to him; and as to that interest which we all espoused in our hearts, we must be content to reserve it in *petto*, and wait a more favorable opportunity to bring it about hereafter: for every thing must submit to the necessity of the times."

Upon this speech, the rest of the lords appeared perfectly stunned, and for a time they continued silent: then one of the lords turning to the lady — said, "Madam, pray, what is your opinion in the case?" my lady answered, "Let my opinion be what it will, my lord, I see no other way; her majesty will be dead before to-morrow, our measures are in no forwardness, our friends and interest all disconcerted, since the late removal of the earl of Oxford from being Lord Treasurer; to make any attempt would ruin ourselves, and help the establishment of those we hate. The Successor must be immediately proclaimed; if we decline it a moment it is high treason in us, and the Whigs will do it with the greatest clamour and ostentation imaginable, and not fail to fall upon us for the omission; it must be done, and since that is the case, why should ye lose the advantage of doing it yourselves? by all means do it, and receive the acknowledgment: it is your only way."

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This, they all agreed to; and, the queen being dead, the Tory ministry made their court to the Hanover succession; voted a deputation to him; and did all in the real bringing the king to the crown, that was possible for the best and most faithful subjects, in their posts, to have done.

As the Tory ministry, and their adherents, had been very active to ruin our religion and liberties, and defeat the Protestant Succession; so his majesty's friends had used all suitable endeavours to frustrate these wicked designs, and carefully observed the motions of the Jacobite faction; especially now when the matter was come to a crisis.

During the queen's illness, the dukes of Argyle and Somerset, without being called, went into the council chamber at Kensington, where the chief ministers of state were met in committee; and when they knew her recovery was despaired of, their Graces prevailed, that all the privy counselors, who were then in and about London, should likewise attend, without distinction. This did so much overawe the enemies of the Succession, that they durst not make the least opposition to it in public; so that even those who have since appeared to be in the Chevalier's interest, were obliged to concur with his majesty's friends, in issuing out orders for securing the peace of Great Britain and Ireland, before the queen's decease, and doing

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what was requisite after it, for settling her successor in the peaceable possession of her throne.

On Friday 30th July, the second day of her majesty's illness, the council issued out orders to the lord mayor of London, to take care of the peace of the city by summoning the lieutenantancy, who ordered out the city trained bands; the militia of the Tower hamlets, and Westminster, were also ordered out: and the lords of Admiralty, by order of the council, dispatched directions for fitting out as many men of war as could soonest be got ready. On Saturday, July 31st, an express was sent to the elector of Brunswick, to assure him of their inviolable duty, in case the queen should die, and to desire his electoral highness to repair to England with all possible speed: another express was, at that time, sent to the earl of Strafford, with orders to acquaint the states of Holland therewith, and to desire them to perform what they had stipulated in the treaty of guarantee, for the Protestant Succession, &c. Orders were also sent to all the military officers of Great Britain and Ireland, to repair to their respective posts, and take care that no disturbance be offered.

As soon as it was known that the queen was dead, Dr. Thomas Tennison, arch-bishop of Canterbury; Simon Harcourt, Lord Chancellor; John, duke of Buckingham, Lord President of the Council; Charles, duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Treasur-

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er; William, earl of Dartmouth, Lord Privy-Seal; (five of the seven Justices or Regents on whom the administration of the government, during the king's absence, devolved, by the act in the fourth and fifth years of Queen Ann) assembled at St. James's Palace; together with the dukes of Somerset, Ormond, Northumberland, Argyle, Roxburgh, Kent; the earls of Poulet, Northampton, Sunderland, Radnor, Rochester, Orford, Mar, Loudon, Ferrers, Oxford, Portmore; the viscount of Bolingbroke; the bishop of London; the lords Lexington, Berkley of Stratton, Guilford, Somers, Cowper, Guernsey, Mansel, Lansdown, and Bingley; William Bromley, Esq.; Henry Boyle, Esq.; Sir William Windham, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Trevor; Sir John Holland; John Hill, Esq.; Sir Richard Onslow; and John Smith, Esq.

The other two Lords Justices appointed by the said act, were Thomas, earl of Strafford, first lord commissioner of the Admiralty; and Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief Justice of the Queen's bench; who were then necessarily absent. And the next successor being by the same act empowered to nominate as many persons as she or he should think fit, to be joined to the seven Lords Justices aforesaid, the arch-bishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and Monsieur Kreyenberg, in whose hands, according to the directions of the said act, the three instruments, under the hand and seal of the elec-

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tor of Brunswick, were lodged soon after the demise of his mother, the princess Sophia of Hanover produced the said instruments before the council, where they were opened and read; and thence it appeared that the persons appointed by his electoral highness, as Lords Justices aforesaid, were, the arch-bishop of York, the duke of Shrewsbury (then lord high Treasurer, and so one of the seven Regents before-mentioned) the dukes of Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, Roxburgh; the earls of Pembroke, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Oxford; lord viscount Townshend, lord Halifax, and lord Cowper.

Thereafter, the lords of council emitted the following proclamation, which they signed, along with many others of the nobility and gentry then present.

“ WHEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God, to call to his
 “ mercy our late Sovereign Lady Queen Ann, of blessed memo-
 “ ry, by whose decease, the imperial crowns of Great Britain,
 “ France, and Ireland, are solely and rightfully come to the
 “ High and Mighty Prince, GEORGE, Elector of Brunswick-Lu-
 “ nenburg: We, therefore, the Lords spiritual and temporal of
 “ the realm, being here assisted with those of her late majesty’s
 “ privy council, with numbers of other principal gentlemen of
 “ quality, with the lord mayor, alderman, and citizens of Lon-
 “ don, Do now, hereby, with one full Voice, and consent of
 “ tongue and heart, publish and proclaim, That the High and
 “ Mighty Prince, GEORGE, Elector of Brunswick-Lunen-
 “ burg, is now, by the death of our late Sovereign, of happy memory,

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"become our lawful and rightful-Liege Lord, GEORGE, by the
"Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
"Defender of the Faith, &c. To whom we do acknowledge all
"faith and constant obedience, with all hearty and humble affec-
"tion: beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign,
"to bless the royal King GEORGE with long and happy years to
"reign over us."

Given at the palace of St. James's, the first day of August,
1714.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Pursuant to this proclamation, the heralds at arms proclaimed his majesty with the usual solemnity, before the gate of the royal palace at St. James's, at Charing-Cross, at Temple-Bar, at the end of Woodstreet, in Cheapside, and also at the Royal Exchange. Great numbers of the nobility and principal gentry assisted at each Proclamation, and attended in their coaches during the whole solemnity, as the lord mayor and court of aldermen did within the city. The joy was great and universal; and even the late Tory ministers of state, who but a little before had trampled on the liberties of Britain, and used their utmost efforts to set the Chevalier upon the throne, feigned themselves to be highly satisfied at his majesty's peaceable accession to the crown, and also attended the solemnity of his proclamation. The guns of the Tower, and in St. James's Park, were fired, the flags displayed, and in the evening there were bonfires, illuminations, and ringing of bells. The Ja-

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cobite faction being struck with this surprising turn of Providence, and not yet recovered from their consternation, the whole solemnity passed without any disorder.

That same day, a proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices, ordering the clergy to pray for his majesty King GEORGE, and the Royal family, instead of Queen Ann, and the elector of Hanover. The baron de Bothmar, his majesty's minister, sent over his secretary to Hanover, with an express of the queen's death, and of his majesty's being proclaimed. The Lords Justices did also appoint the earl of Dorset to carry the same advice to his majesty, with an account of the affairs of the nation. An express was sent to the Lords Justices of Ireland, with directions for proclaiming the King, and disabling the Papists and Jacobites there, to make any disturbance to the government, at that juncture. And finally, the Lords Justices, at that same time, sent orders to proclaim his majesty in Scotland, directed to the earl of Isla, Lord Justice General; and a copy to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, with orders to proclaim him there.

These orders arrived at Edinburgh on Wednesday the 4th August, about twelve at night, upon which his lordship sent to some of the late queen's servants, to attend him next morning at 8 o'clock, which they did, and went in a body with his lord-

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ship, to the duke of Montrose, who was there at the time, and found his Grace attended by the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Rothes, Morton, Buchan, Lauderdale, Haddington, Leven, Hyndford, Hopetoun, Roseberry, and the lords Belhaven, Elibank, Torphichen, Polwarth, Balgony, Gen. Wightman, and a considerable number of the principal gentry, officers of the army, and chief inhabitants of the city.

Having got all things ready, and the streets lined with the city-trained bands, the duke, with the above-mentioned nobility and gentry, went to the Town council-house, where the Lord Provost, with the other magistrates and Town council, the Lord President, and other lords of the Session, the lord chief Baron and other barons of the Exchequer, with the commissioners of the Revenue, and many other honourable gentlemen, waited to receive them; and having in readiness, a proclamation to the same intent, and of the same tenor, with that afore-mentioned, which was published at London, all of them signed it.

The said proclamation being signed, about eleven o'clock, the city-trained bands formed a double line from the Council-house to the Cross, and the Theatre; then Mr Henry Maule, deputy of the lord Lyon King at Arms, ushered by six trumpets, the heralds and pursuivants in their coats, by two and two mounted the cross: then followed the

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Lord Provost, the other magistrates and Town council, in their robes, ushered by sixteen of the ordinary officers of the city, in their livery coats, with the sword and mace, born by the proper officers, all uncovered. The Lord Provost, with the sword and mace, went up also to the cross ; but the Town council proceeded to the Theatre, and there received his Grace the duke of Montrose, attended by a great number of the nobility and gentry. After this the High and Mighty Prince, GEORGE, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbug, was, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by the Lion's depute, the Lord Provost reading to him the words of the proclamation. This was followed by a discharge of the great guns from the castle, three volleys from the city guards, answered by a discharge of the great artillery and small arms in St. Ann's Yard, just by the royal palace of Holyroodhouse, where the regular troops were encamped upon the news of her majesty's illness, to prevent disturbance from the enemies. All was accompanied with huzza's and other acclamations of joy, from the Cross, the Theatre, and the streets, which, with the windows, were crowded with innumerable spectators. Thereafter, the duke of Montrose, with the nobility, gentry, the Lord Provost, and Town council, returned to the Town-house, where they drank his majesty's, and other loyal healths.

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From thence they went down to the camp, where Major-general Wightman received them at the head of the troops, and thereafter entertained them very handsomely in his tent, where they again drank the king's, and several other loyal healths, under discharges of the cannon and small arms. The day was concluded with ringing of bells, illuminations, a discharge of the great guns from the castle, and all other demonstrations of extraordinary joy.

The Jacobite party were so confounded at this surprising turn, that they durst not move a tongue against it in public, some of them in their private whisperings, advised others to silence, telling that the elector of Hanover being now proclaimed King, it was treason to speak a word against him; others of them affirmed to those they thought fit to be free with, that king James, (as they called the Chevalier) would land, with a foreign force, in the roads of Leith, in a very short time; and some of them said plainly, that this being the only proper season for him to appear, if he came not then, they would look upon him as an impostor, ever after. This was some of their private conversation that night in Edinburgh.

For better security, the wooden bridge before the castle gate was cut, and a part of it made to draw up, and an entrenchment was cast up betwixt that and the castle wall, and soldiers planted with

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small arms. The general called in, from Dundee and other places of the kingdom, such of his majesty's troops as were quartered there, who arrived at the camp in a day or two ; and such other precautions were taken, as were suitable to the present occasion.

Next day, in the afternoon, the express sent to the Lords Justices of Ireland, arrived at Dublin, with a letter from the privy council of Great Britain, containing an account of the queen's death, and directions for proclaiming the King. Upon this their Excellencies and Council met, and immediately signed a proclamation of the same form and tenor with that which had been issued in Great Britain, adding, that "they do by this, their royal
" proclamation, think fit to give public notice here-
" of, to all his majesty's subjects ; and to require
" all mayors, sheriffs, and other of his majesty's of-
" ficers, to cause the same be proclaimed in all the
" cities and towns corporate, and market towns in
" this kingdom; and all officers, both civil and mi-
" litary, and other of his majesty's subjects, are to
" assist in the performance hereof, with all due so-
" lemnity." About five o'clock that evening, the Lords Justices, attended by the nobility and clergy in town, with the lord mayor, the aldermen, and other officers attending the state, went through the city and proclaimed his majesty at the usual places, and returned to the castle; the great guns were af-

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terwards discharged three several times, and answered by volleys of small shot, from the regiments drawn up in College-green. The evening concluded with bonfires throughout the whole city, and other joyful demonstrations. Next day the Lords Justices, pursuant to their orders from London, issued a proclamation for disarming the Papists and seizing their horses; and used other suitable means for keeping the peace of the kingdom of Ireland.

Thus was his majesty peaceably proclaimed in the three capital cities of Great Britain and Ireland. And so soon as the orders could reach them, he was likewise proclaimed, without the least opposition, in all the other cities, towns corporate, burghs of regality, &c. within these nations, and the dominions thereunto belonging, more universally than any of our Sovereigns had been before him, and with the utmost joy that could possibly be expressed by a people, who, but a few days before, were under the most dreadful apprehensions of approaching ruin to the Protestant interest in these lands, but were now deeply sensible of a surprising deliverance.

Although the French king had often assured the Chevalier, that he would assert his title, in opposition to Hanover; yet in regard of the then circumstances of France, and of his and the Chevalier's friends in Britain, as above narrated, he thought fit to own King George's title, and gave early and re-

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peated assurances, not only to the British ministers, then at the court of France, but also to the Regency of Great Britain, by his letter, "that he would "inviolably maintain the treaty of Peace concluded at Utrecht, with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover; and do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two crowns, France and Britain. The Chevalier having come to Versailles, upon the news that the queen was dead, or past recovery, so soon as the French king had notice of it, the marquis de Torcy was sent to tell him, "that his most christian majesty was surprised at his being returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements he was under, in respect to the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the house of Hanover, and therefore desired him to quit his territories."

The Lords Justices, sensible how little these French assurances were to be relied on, and to what danger this nation was exposed by the ill condition of the army and fleet, took all possible precautions to guard against a surprise. And therefore, having dispatched such officers of the army as they could trust, to their respective posts, and sent to the garrison of Portsmouth, which they found unprovided with men and military stores, a reinforcement, under the command of Colonel Pocock, they ordered 500 out-pensioners of Chelsea

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college, to march thither under the command of Colonel Jones; and having called over the British battalions from Flanders, so soon as they landed in England, a battalion of the earl of Orkney's Royal Regiment of Fuzileers, was commanded to march to Portsmouth, for the further security of that important town, which, though one of the principal keys of the nation, had been so much neglected by the late Tory ministry, as if they had designed it should been surprised by France, and made a place of arms for the Chevalier and his party.

Moreover, the Lords Justices sent out some vessels to view the harbours of France, with orders to report, according as they found matters there: and that they might not be imposed upon, by such as in the late reign had been the tools of France, they chose Joseph Addison, Esq. member of Parliament for Malmsbury, to be their Secretary, and ordered all dispatches directed to the Secretary of state, to be sent to him. And further, they ordered the Justices of the Peace of London and Westminster to take up exact lists of the Popish Recusants in these two cities, and to seize their horses and arms, according to the statute provided in that case; and to prevent insurrections in some places, where the disaffected party were known to be numerous, their Excellencies appointed the duke of Bolton, lord lieutenant of Hampshire, in room of the late duke of Beaufort; and the earl of Derby, lord lieutenant

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of Lancashire, in room of the late duke Hamilton, &c. And so, by the vigilant care, and wise administration of the regency, the nation was kept free of disturbance from the Jacobite party, who could not soon recover from the consternation they were under, by the surprising change.

The Parliament, pursuant to an act of the fifth of Queen Anne, convened in the afternoon, that day she died. The Speaker being in Wales, it was moved by Mr Secretary Bromley, that the house should adjourn until the Wednesday following; but some of his majesty's friends replied, that the time was too precious for any to be lost, at so critical a juncture: so they adjourned only till next day, and in the mean time, the members of both houses that were present, qualified themselves, by taking the oaths appointed by law. The members who came to town, did the like in their respective houses, and the Speaker being come, on the 4th of August also did the same.

On the 5th, the Lords Justices issued a proclamation according to the act of the sixth of Queen Anne, "requiring all persons, being in office of authority or government at her decease, to proceed in the execution of their offices, and to take the oaths mentioned in that act, and to do all other acts required by the laws and statutes of this realm, to qualify them for continuing in their respective places." And thereafter, their Excellencies came

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to the house of Peers, where the lord chancellor, in their name, made the following speech to both Houses of Parliament.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen, It having pleased Almighty God to take to himself our late most gracious queen, of blessed memory, we hope that nothing has been omitted which might contribute to the safety of these realms, and the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great conjuncture. As these invaluable blessings have been secured to us by those acts of Parliament which have settled the succession of these kingdoms in the most illustrious house of Hanover, we have regulated our proceedings by those rules which are therein prescribed.

“ The privy council, soon after the demise of the late queen, assembled at St. James's, where, according to the said acts, the three instruments were produced and opened, which had been deposited in the hands of the arch-bishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Resident of Brunswick. Those, who, either by their offices, or by virtue of these instruments, had the honour of being appointed Lords Justices, did, in conjunction with the council, immediately proceed to the proclaiming of our lawful and rightful sovereign, King George, taking, at the same time, the necessary care to maintain the public peace.

“ In pursuance of the acts before-mentioned,

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this Parliament is now assembled, and we are persuaded, you all bring with you so hearty a disposition for his majesty's service, and the public good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in every thing which may promote these great ends.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons, We find it necessary to put you in mind, that several branches of the public revenue are expired by the demise of her late majesty, and to recommend to you the making such provisions, in that respect, as may be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown; and we assure ourselves you will not be wanting in any thing that may conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit.

"My Lords and Gentlemen, We forbear laying before you any thing that does not require your immediate consideration, not having received his majesty's pleasure; we shall only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence of our Sovereign's interest, as being the only means to continue amongst us our present happy tranquillity."

The Commons being returned to their house, it was resolved, that an humble address should be presented to his majesty; and after some reasonings a-
nent the nature of the address (wherein some of his majesty's best friends urged, "that his majesty might have assurances of their readiness to main-

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tain both his majesty's undoubted title to the crown, and the public credit,") the heads of the said address were agreed upon, and a committee appointed to draw up the same, who were ordered to report it next day to the house.

And that same day, the house of Peers agreed upon the following address to the king; desiring the Lords Justices would be pleased to transmit the same to his majesty, with all convenient speed.

" Most gracious Sovereign,

" WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the
 " Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled, though
 " deeply sensible of the great loss these nations have sustained
 " by the demise of her late majesty, of-blessed memory, think it
 " our duty, at the same time, with thankful hearts to Almighty
 " God, to congratulate your majesty upon your happy and
 " peaceable accession to your throne; and we do, with the ut-
 " most loyalty and duty, assure your majesty of our zealous and
 " firm resolutions to support your undoubtedly rightful and law-
 " ful title to the crown, against all enemies whatsoever.

" Our zeal and affection for your majesty's service, engage us
 " to exert ourselves with all vigour and unanimity for securing
 " the public safety; and we will always, to the utmost of our
 " power, maintain the honour and dignity of your crown. And
 " we do with faithful hearts, beseech your majesty, as soon as
 " possible, to give us your royal presence, which, we are per-
 " suaded will be attended with all other blessings to your king-
 " doms."

The Lords Justices having transmitted this address to the king, as was desired, his majesty was

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pleased, with the first opportunity, to return this gracious answer.

George Rex.

"I take this first opportunity to return you my hearty thanks for this address, and the assurances you have given me therein.

"The zeal and unanimity you have shown, upon my accession to the crown, are great encouragements to me, and I shall always esteem the continuance of them as one of the greatest blessings of my reign.

"No one can be more truly sensible than I am, of the loss sustained by the death of the late queen, whose exemplary piety and virtues so much endeared her to her people, and for whose memory I shall always have a particular regard.

"My best endeavours shall never be wanting to repair this loss to the nation. I will make it my constant care to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties, inviolable, and to advance the honour and prosperity of my kingdoms.

"I am hastening to you, according to your desire, so affectionately expressed in your address."

On the 6th August, Mr Secretary Bromley reported from the committee appointed to draw up the address to his majesty, that they had done it accordingly; and it being read was agreed to by the house of Commons, viz.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, having a just sense of the great loss the nation has sustained by the death of our late Sovereign Lady Queen Anne, of blessed memory, humbly crave leave to condole with your majesty on this sad occasion.

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"It would but aggravate our sorrow, particularly to enumerate the virtues of that pious and most excellent princess: the duty we owe to your majesty and to our country, oblige us to moderate our grief, and heartily congratulate your majesty's accession to the throne; whose princely virtues give us a certain prospect of future happiness in the security of our religion, laws, and liberties, and engage us to assure your majesty, that we will to our utmost, support your undoubted right to the imperial crown of this realm, against the Chevalier and all other persons whatsoever.

"Your faithful Commons cannot but express their impatient desire for your majesty's safe arrival and presence in Great Britain.

"In the mean time we humbly lay before your majesty, the unanimous resolution of this house, to maintain the publick credit of the nation, and effectually to make good all funds which have been granted by Parliament for the security of any money which has been, or shall be, advanced for the publick service; and to endeavour, by every thing in our power, to make your majesty's reign happy and glorious."

The Lords Justices being desired by the house to transmit this address to his majesty, with the first conveniency, their Excellencies did it accordingly; and on the 25th of August, Mr Secretary Bromley reported to the house, that the Lords Justices had received from his majesty, the following answer:

George Rex.

"Your dutiful and loyal address is very acceptable to me. The unanimity and affection my Commons have shewn upon my accession to the crown, are most agreeable instances and

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“pledges of their fidelity to me. I have a just sense of your inexpressible loss, by the death of your late sovereign; you may be assured of my constant endeavours to secure to you the full enjoyment of your religion, laws, and liberties, and that it will always be my aim to make you an happy and flourishing people; to which your resolution to maintain the public credit of the nation will greatly contribute. I am hastening to you, according to your earnest desire, and the just expectations of my people.”

On the 6th August, a motion was made, that a supply be granted to his majesty for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the dignity and honour of the crown; which being referred to a committee of the house, next day the motion was agreed to, and reported on Monday the 9th. When this motion was under the consideration of the committee, some of the Tory members, on pretence of shewing extraordinary zeal for the new government, proposed giving his majesty *a million* sterling, per annum, more than the late queen enjoyed; but, though no direct opposition was then made against the motion, yet it was afterwards dropped; the wisest of the king's friends knowing that the faction would make a handle of it against his majesty, as oppressing the nation by a greater revenue than the late queen had. And upon the 11th August, the house agreed to this resolution, “that towards the supply granted to his majesty, for the support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, the

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same revenue which was payable to her late majesty Queen Anne, of blessed memory, during her life, and had continuance until the time of her demise, be granted and continued in like manner to his majesty, during his life; except the revenue of the dutchy of Cornwall, which is by law vested in his royal highness the Prince, as duke of Cornwall; and that the said revenue be continued from the death of her late majesty:" and then ordered a bill to be brought in upon the said resolution.

Next day, Mr Conyers brought in a bill upon the foresaid resolution, which was read, and ordered to be read a second time; and thereafter, another bill was presented to the house, for rectifying mistakes in the Commissioners names, for putting in execution the act passed in the last session of Parliament, entitled, "An Act for granting an Aid to her majesty, to be raised by a Land-Tax in Great Britain, for the year 1714," which was read the first, and ordered to be read a second time, which was accordingly done, next day, and the former of these two bills was engrossed.

The messenger, who, on the last of July was dispatched to Hanover with the news of the queen's illness, being returned that morning, with letters from the King to the Lords Justices, their Excellencies, in the afternoon, went to the house of Peers, and the Commons being sent for, the lord chancellor, in name of their Excellencies,

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made a speech to both houses, which, for brevity, I have not transcribed; but the reader may easily consider its import, by the resolution thereupon taken by the house of Commons, viz. "That an address be presented to his majesty, to return the humble thanks of this house, for the satisfaction his majesty has been pleased to express, in the loyalty and affection which his subjects have universally shewn upon his majesty's accession to the throne, and for his gracious intentions of making his people speedily happy with his royal presence; and also to assure his majesty of the continuance of the same zeal and affection to his majesty, upon all occasions; and that this house will contribute their utmost endeavours for preserving the public peace, until his majesty shall arrive."

The house of Lords having come to a resolution to address his majesty to the same effect, their addresses were ordered to be presented to the Lords Justices, with the desire of both houses, that their Excellencies would transmit the same to the King, with all convenient speed.

Thereafter, a bill was ordered to be brought in, "to enable all persons now residing in Great Britain, to take the oaths, and do all other acts, in Great Britain, requisite to qualify themselves for continuing in their respective places, offices, and employments in Ireland."

And on the 17th August, the engrossed bill for

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the better support of his majesty's household, &c. was read the third time, passed, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence; but it was again sent down without any amendment.

August 21st, the Lords Justices went to the house of Peers, and the Commons being sent for, the Speaker, upon presenting these bills to their Excellencies, made a very handsome speech; and the Lords Justices having thereupon given the royal assent to the foresaid three acts, the lord chancellor made the following speech to both houses of Parliament.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen, We cannot but express our greatest satisfaction, and, in his majesty's name, return you thanks, for the convincing proofs which you have given, in this session, of your duty and affection to his majesty, and of our zeal for his government.

We must particularly thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, for the aids which you have granted to his majesty, for the better support of the honour of the crown, and for preventing any disappointment in the supplies given in the last session, for the service of this year. You may be assured, that the unanimity, the cheerfulness, and the dispatch with which you have proceeded in granting these aids, will render them yet more acceptable to his majesty. And you may depend u-

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pon our making a faithful representation thereof to him.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen, All necessary business being now happily concluded, it will be proper for us to put a speedy end to this session. We think fit, at present, in his majesty's name, to desire you forthwith respectively to adjourn yourselves until Wednesday next.

Accordingly both houses immediately adjourned to Wednesday the 25th August. And the reason of this adjournment was, that whereas the Lords Justices had resolved to bury the late queen upon Sunday the 22d, yet having received letters from the king, with directions that her majesty's body should be interred with all the decency and pomp consistent with a private burial, that ceremony was put off to Tuesday the 24th, at which time her majesty was accordingly interred with great solemnity, in King Henry VII's chapel, in the same vault with Charles II. King William, Queen Mary, and Prince George of Denmark.

The Parliament being met again, August 25th, Mr Secretary Brömley acquainted the Commons, that the Lords Justices had received his majesty's answer to their address presented to his majesty at the beginning of this session, which he presented to the house, as is before related. After this, the Lords Justices went to the house of Peers, and the Commons being sent for, after they had ordered an

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address of thanks to his majesty, for his gracious answer to their said address, the lord chancellor, in name of their Excellencies, made the following speech to both houses.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen, Having, since your late adjournment, received his majesty's most gracious answer, under his sign manual, to your several addresses ; and by his majesty's command ordered them to be delivered to you respectively : We do now, in his majesty's name, prorogue this present parliament to Thursday, the 23d day of September next.

Thus ended the second and last session of the fourth parliament of Great-Britain, and the last of queen Anne's reign ; for, upon the 23d of September, it was again prorogued to October 21st, and then to the 13th January, and thereafter dissolved, and another called.

It is thought unnecessary to trouble the reader with a longer account of the debates and votes of this session, there having nothing of importance past therein, except the foresaid acts, and their resolution upon the Lottery Act for the more expeditious raising of money ; which, with the addresses already mentioned, shew what a change his majesty's accession to the throne had made on the temper and measures of the house of Commons, who, while under the influence of the Tory ministry, did many things to the prejudice of his ma-

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jesty's best friends, with an intention to weaken his succession, which they now appear so zealous to support.

Before we proceed to speak of his majesty's affairs abroad, and his arrival in Britain, it will not be improper to give some further account of the wise and prudent administration of the REGENCY, in the following particulars.

Some merchants having complained to the Lords Justices, that the Swedes made prize of our merchant ships, trading to those ports in the Baltic that were in the possession of the Czar of Muscovy, their Excellencies took these complaints into consideration, and gave proper directions upon them. And thereafter, other complaints of the like nature, from the trading part of the nation, were also laid before their Excellencies; and particularly by some merchants trading to Spain, who produced to them two letters from their correspondents at Cadiz, dated the 29th of July last, whereby it appeared, "that the king of Spain demanded a donative, or free gift, there, and in other parts of Spain, especially of the British merchants and other foreigners; that their proportion of that donative, (which is to some 125 pieces of Eight, some more, some less) is settled by a note left at each of their houses, regulating what they should pay; and, having refused to pay it, as being contrary to treaties in force, unjust in itself, dis-

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honourable to the British nation, and without any precedent, the governor had put guards into their houses, threatening to double them, at the rate of half-a-dollar per day, until they make payment, &c." These letters being made public, increased the general indignation and resentment against the late ministry, and managers of the late treaty of commerce with Spain, who, either thro' ignorance or corruption, had settled the same on such a precarious bottom, as made it subject to the will and pleasure of that prince. But upon the news of the queen's death, and the vigorous proceedings of the Regency, the orders for exacting that donative were recalled; and his majesty king George, made it his business to get that treaty of commerce rectified, which was accordingly done, as will afterwards more fully be related, December 1715.

On the 6th of August, the lords of the Regency considered the affair relating to the election of the magistrates and sheriffs for the city of Dublin, that had been long depending before the privy council, and determined it to be one of the ancient privileges of that city, to choose their own magistrates. This determination being dispatched immediately to the Lords Justices of Ireland, they summoned the nominal lord mayor and the aldermen then in town, and proposed to them to proceed forthwith to the election of a mayor and sheriffs for the re-

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maining part of the year, till Michaelmas next; but the nominal mayor refused to proceed to a choice, in conjunction with the aldermen. Whereupon the aldermen went into a choice without him, which fell upon alderman Page, for lord mayor; and on Mr Somerville merchant, and Mr Crowder, (formerly elected by the aldermen, and approved of by government) to be sheriffs for the remaining term. Upon this the nominal mayor withdrew, being countenanced in his obstinate behaviour by Sir Constantine Phipps, lord chancellor, by whose influence the privy council declined approving of alderman Page, and sent over an account of what had passed to the Lords Justices of Great Britain, alledging (afterwards) that it was derogatory from the prerogative of the crown, and might prove dangerous to the church, as by law established, to allow the city of Dublin, to choose their own magistrates.

The lords of the Regency, finding that the Lords Justices of Ireland not only refused to observe their order, but remonstrated against it, and having considered the many complaints of the Protestants there, of their male-administration, their Excellencies, about the beginning of September, removed the arch-bishop of Armagh and Sir Constantine Phipps, from being Lords Justices there, and appointed the archbishop of Dublin, and the earl of Kildare, Lords Justices in their stead. This sea-

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sonable change of the ministry, gave great ease to the friends of his majesty's succession in Ireland, which, they believed, was in danger, while the government of that kingdom was in their hands. The inhabitants of the principality of Catalonia, who had been formerly engaged by Great Britain, in the war for king Charles, afterwards emperor of Germany, against king Philip of Spain, having, at the conclusion of the treaty of Peace, been left to the cruelty of king Philip, who endeavoured, by force of arms, to reduce them to obedience to him, and had lately made a desperate attack on their city of Barcelona, and killed a great number of the inhabitants; the lords of the Regency took early notice of their lamentable circumstances. And having sent orders to Admiral Wishart, whom the late British ministry had sent to assist king Philip, not to molest the inhabitants of Barcelona, nor hinder any relief to be brought to them by sea; they likewise wrote to the court of France, "that his most christian majesty having promised to interpose his good offices with the king of Spain, in favor of the Catalans, they were surprised to find, that, instead of that, his most christian majesty had sent his troops to assist those of his grandson in the reduction of Barcelona; and that their Excellencies hoped, his most christian majesty would make good his promises; and consider the ill consequences of his suffering his forces to act against

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a people, who were under the protection of the king of Great Britain." To this it was answered to the British Resident in France, "that the most christian king had already made good his engagements in behalf of the Catalans; that their obstinacy was the cause of all the misfortunes that might befall them; and that his glory would not suffer him to recall his troops from before Barcelona." But this answer was not so satisfying as they expected.

On the 28th of August, their Excellencies, the lords of the Regency, received several orders by an express from the king, particularly for preparing a patent to create the Prince Royal, Prince of Wales, and for removing lord Bolingbroke from his office of Secretary of state.

Lord Bolingbroke was accordingly removed from his office, on the last of that month, and the dukes Shrewsbury and Somerset, with lord Cowper, having, by order of the Regency, taken the seals from him, they locked and sealed up the doors of his office; and some weeks after that, lord viscount Townshend, by his majesty's order, was sworn one of his majesty's principal Secretaries. Thus the Tory faction lost their best friend at court; and, no doubt, it was mortifying to them to see that noble patriot now brought to the helm, who, in the former reign, they had so maliciously traduc-

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ed for his known zeal for the Protestant succession, and the good of his country.

The Chevalier's friends in Scotland, being a little recovered from the consternation they were under through their sudden disappointment, some of them were seen marching in arms towards the highlands, and it was thought they designed an insurrection. The Justices being acquainted herewith, their Excellencies ordered a good number of half-pay officers, especially those belonging to the Scots regiments, to go thither without delay, that, should it be requisite, they might head the militia of the country, under the directions of Major-general Whitham, who was then Commander-in-chief there.

The Jacobites there held some consultations; but finding they could do nothing considerable, they retired to their respective homes. Some of the highlanders appeared in a body near Inverlochy; but the governor of that place sent out a detachment against them, and they fled and dispersed. In some places, in their drunken frolics, they took the opportunity in the night-time, to proclaim the Chevalier. The government ordered those concerned in these riots to be prosecuted; and for preventing any further disturbance from that party, the Lords Justices ordered some of their chiefs to be confined; the duke of Gordon to the city of Edinburgh; the marquis of Huntly to his house at

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Brahen; and lord Drummond to Castle Drummond; but the latter of the three being afterwards ordered to be seized, he escaped to the highlands, from whence he wrote to the Regency, and offered bail for his good behaviour. Captain Campbell of Glenderoul, who had a commission, by means of the late ministry, to raise an independent company in the highlands, was taken at Inverlochy, and from thence sent prisoner to Edinburgh; Sir Donald M'Donald of Slait was likewise made prisoner, by order of the Regency, and sent to the castle of Edinburgh.

About this time there was a general report of a hunting appointed in the highlands, and that several of the Popish and Jacobite nobility and gentry in the south were repairing to it; but it was justly suspected by his majesty's friends, to be only a pretence to cover some rebellious design, which made the Regency discharge it; and ordered the duke of Athol, Lord Privy Seal, (who had caused proclaim his majesty at Perth) to stay at his castle of Blair, to preserve the peace of that country.

The foresaid nobility and gentry in the south, were at all due pains to promote the Chevalier's interest, and for that purpose endeavoured to thrust themselves into places of trust, that so they might be capable of discouraging the friends of the government, who meant to make a timeous appearance for his majesty king George, in case of

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any rebellion, which was still apprehended. One instance we shall give, with respect to the shire of Dumfries. Some gentlemen who had been nominated by the late queen Anne, about two years before, in a commission for Justices of Peace for that county, but had never taken out their commission during her majesty's life; in a short time after her death they procured this commission, by means of Mr M.....y and other of their friends at London, with a *Dedimus Protestatem*, issued out of the chancery, in his majesty king George's name, to three of the gentlemen named in the said commission, to administer to them the oath of office, and other oaths requisite. Accordingly some of these gentlemen met at Dumfries the 2d of September, to qualify themselves, as aforesaid; but Alexander Ferguson of Craigdarroch compeared, and in his own name, and in name of the other Justices of Peace of the said shire, who were in the exercise of their office at her majesty's decease, (and were by law to continue six months after it, unless sooner removed by her Successor) protested "against these gentlemen, who were offering to intrude themselves into the said office of the peace, by virtue of the said nomination, which took no effect during her said majesty's life; that they might be liable in all penalties, forfeitures, and disabilities incurred by them through unduly meddling in the said office, contrary to laws in that behalf made."

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John Crosby of Holme, then provost of Dumfries, and so a Justice by virtue of his office, being present, adhered to this protest. The Jacobite gentlemen, notwithstanding, took the oath, but could never get into the administration; which if they had done, might been fatal to this country, seeing several of these gentlemen have since appeared in the rebellion.

On the 15th of September, their Excellencies, the Lords Justices, issued a proclamation, promising a reward of £100,000 sterling, to any person or persons, who should seize and secure the Chevalier, whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain. In short, nothing in their power was omitted, that could be thought proper to promote his majesty's interest and honour; and their conduct appeared to be acceptable to his majesty, and the best of his subjects.

It will now be highly proper to give some account of his majesty's affairs abroad, and his arrival in Britain. The express sent to Hanover, on the 31st of July, with an account of her majesty's illness, and to desire the elector of Brunswick to hasten over hither, arrived at the Hague, the 2d of August, and, after a short stay, pursued his journey to the king. Next day, Monsieur Godike, the baron de Bothmar's secretary, arrived there, with the news of the queen's death, and of king George being proclaimed, and likewise pursued his journey

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to Hanover. Upon his arrival with these news at the Hague, Monsieur Klingraef, the Resident of Hanover presented a memorial to the States General, with a letter from king George, which was lodged in his hands to be in readiness, if there should be occasion ; by which his majesty required of the states the performance of their guarantee of his succession to the crown of Great-Britain. That same night the states assembled, and next day they came to a resolution, that an answer shall be returned to his electoral highness, now king of Great Britain, viz. " that as soon as their high mightinesses were informed of the sickness and death of her said majesty of Great-Britain, of glorious memory, they immediately bethought themselves of the engagements they had entered into, for the guaranty of the succession to the crown of Great Britain, in the Protestant line, so as it is settled by acts of Parliament ; and at the same time they considered not only how much it concerns the kingdom of Great-Britain, that the settlement of the succession in the Protestant line should have its entire effect, but also how deeply the Protestant religion, the safety of this state, and the liberty of all Europe, are interested therein ; that therefore they unanimously resolved to perform their engagements, and to execute all that, by the treaty of mutual guaranty, they had promised ; whereto they are the more readily induced by the firm

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assurance which his majesty in the said letter is pleased to give them, of his good will towards this state; that as they received the account of the death of her majesty with grief, so it was very acceptable news to them, that his electoral highness, as next heir in the Protestant line, was instantly proclaimed King, by the unanimous advice of the council, and with the acclamations of the people; that they most heartily congratulate his majesty thereupon, and wish him all further happy success in a prosperous reign; that from this good beginning, they hope his majesty will take peaceable possession of his kingdoms, without any opposition; that, nevertheless, their high mightinesses are willing and ready to perform their engagements, and to take all proper measures with his majesty for that end; that, it being likely his majesty will speedily go for England, their high mightinesses will be very glad if his majesty will please to take his journey through their dominions; that they will endeavour to facilitate his majesty's passage with all that is in their power; that they will at all times shew the high esteem they have for his majesty's person and friendship; and that they have His interest as much at heart as their own."

The State ordered a copy of this answer to be put into the hands of the Resident, M. Klingraef, to be sent to his majesty; and another copy to be

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delivered to M. Van Borsselen, their Envoy extraordinary to the court of Great Britain, who was then in Holland, that he might give the like assurance to the Regency in England, on his arrival there. Next day, they gave much the same assurances to the earl of Strafford, Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, in answer to the speech he had made to them two days before, pursuant to his orders from that court, to communicate to their high mightinesses the measures that were taken to call over the Protestant Successor, and the reliance on the friendship and assistance of that Republic in this conjuncture.

At the same time, the foresaid resolution, and a letter to king George, were delivered to the Resident of Hanover. And their high mightinesses sent letters to the states of the several provinces, desiring them forthwith to provide the necessary funds for setting out a strong squadron of men of war; of which, twelve which were designed for the Baltic, were almost ready to put to sea. And soon after, the States General appointed Messieurs Van Welderen, Noordwick, Taats, Van Amerongen, and Burmania, to receive his Britannick majesty on the frontier of their territories.

About the middle of August, the Resident of Hanover at the Hague, delivered the following letter from the King to the States General, in answer to theirs before-mentioned.

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*“ High and Mighty Lords, most dear Friends
“ and Allies,*

“ THE letter of the 15th inst. which your high mightinesses
“ have written to us, as our good friends and neighbours, has
“ been delivered to us by an express. As nothing more agreeable
“ could happen to us, upon our accession to the throne, than to
“ receive from your high mightinesses such obliging assurances
“ of your good intentions for us, and the publick good ; so noth-
“ ing is wanting in our acknowledgement in that respect, and in
“ the high esteem we have for your high mightinesses and your
“ friendship. Your high mightinesses are to be intierly perswa-
“ ded, that seeing it has pleased God, to call us to the throne of
“ Great Britain, we shall make it one of our most serious appli-
“ cations, to embrace all opportunities to acknowledge, by all
“ possible means, what you have done for us on this occasion ;
“ to contribute to the strengthening and increase of your prospe-
“ rity and security, and that of your Republic ; to live with you
“ in an indissoluable union ; to concur with a concert of zeal and
“ forces to the preservation of the Protestant religion and the li-
“ berty of Europe ; and to support and second the laudable in-
“ tentions of your high mightinesses. Upon our arrival in Hol-
“ land, where, with the assistance of God, we intend to be in a
“ few days, we shall have the satisfaction, in a more ample man-
“ ner, to confirm all this to your high mightinesses, by word of
“ mouth. We thank you, in a particular manner, for your oblig-
“ ing invitation ; and remain,

“ High and Mighty Lords,

“ Your affectionate for ever, &c.

Han. Aug. 21st, }
N. S. 1714. }

(Signed) George Louis, R

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A few days after receipt of this letter, the states of Holland named deputies of their own to receive his majesty at the entrance into that province, and to conduct him to the Hague; and ordered eight men of war to be equipped with all expedition, in order to join the British squadron appointed to convey the king over to England.

On Thursday the 5th August, O. S. at 7 o'clock in the morning, the messenger, dispatched from Kensington the Saturday before, with letters to the king, arrived at Hanover, and rode directly to Harrenhausen; and that same night three other expresses arrived at Hanover; two to that court, and one to the earl of Clarendon, with the news of the queen's death, which he communicated to the king early next morning; and was confirmed, a few hours after, by the arrival of Monsieur Godike, with the further account of his majesty being proclaimed in London, without any disturbance.

As soon as the king of Prussia had heard that the queen was dead, and king George proclaimed, he instantly declared his firm resolution to contribute his assistance to the maintaining of that succession, in case it should be disputed; and accordingly sent ministers to all courts, particularly to Mr. Bonnet his Resident at London, to notify, "that as his majesty had constantly declared himself in favor of the succession of the house of Hanover, to the crown of Great-Britain, so now he

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was affected with peculiar joy to hear that the settlement of that crown had, in its due time, actually taken effect, by the proclaiming of king George ; the rather because it visibly tended to the promoting the Protestant religion, and the true interest and welfare of the British nation ; and that, in case of need, he was ready to employ all the power which God had put into his hands, in assisting to maintain that succession, against all who might offer to dispute it." A few days after, his minister in Holland, in name of the king, his master, invited his Britannick majesty to lodge in the old court at the Hague, which fell to the king of Prussia by the death of king William. King George having accepted the offer, it was instantly fitted up for his majesty's reception.

The earl of Albemarle went from Holland to wait on the king, and obtained the favor of his majesty to take his house at Voorst, in his way to Holland ; upon which that earl returned to prepare for his coming. The neighbouring princes, on the news of the queen's death, went either in person, or sent Envoys and Deputies to congratulate his majesty's happy accession to the throne of Great Britain ; which occasioned a vast concourse of people at Hanover, and retarded his majesty's departure beyond his intention.

The king having committed the government of his German dominions to a council, at the head of

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whom he placed his brother, Prince Ernest, his majesty resolved that the Prince Royal should go along with him; that the princess, his royal consort, with the two eldest princesses, her daughters, should follow a few weeks after; and that the young prince Frederick George should remain at Hanover, with his youngest sister. His majesty having also named those who should accompany him to England, which he confined to a very small number, he sent off a part of his retinue to the Hague, (to wait his arrival) who arrived there before his majesty departed from Hanover.

On the last day of August, O. S. or the 11th of September N. S. in the morning, the king set out for Harrenhausen, and in a short time was followed by the Prince; the inhabitants of Hanover, and all that country, expressing their deepest sorrow, for the departure of a sovereign, under whose just and mild government they had enjoyed all manner of happiness. That day his majesty and the prince royal arrived at Doepenau, where they lodged that night, and proceeded next day to Ippenburg. On the 2d September, O. S. they came to Twickel, a seat belonging to Count De Wassenaar d' Opdam, who entertained them that night, as did the earl of Albemarle, next night, at his seat at Voorst. On the 4th, the deputies of the States General received and complimented his majesty on their frontier, and that same day he advanced to Utrecht. Here

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his majesty and the prince royal were complimented by the deputies of the states of the province, after which they went into a Yacht of the States, and the same night reached Woerden, where they were received by the earl of Albemarle, and the other deputies of the states of the province of Holland, under six salvoes of nine pieces of cannon, answering the number of his majesty's years. Next day, the 5th of September, O. S. in the morning, the king, in the earl of Albemarle's coach, followed by six others, and attended by a detachment of horse guards, proceeded to Leyden, where the same number of guns were discharged as at Woerden; and about five in the evening, his majesty arrived at the Hague, amidst the acclamations of a vast concourse of people.

That same day, the deputies of the States General went to court, and had an audience of his majesty, whom they complimented on his accession to the British throne, and his happy arrival at the Hague. In the evening, his majesty, along with the Prince, took several turns in his coach round the Voorhout, where he was followed by a numerous train of coaches, and a great concourse of people, who expressed as much joy at seeing his majesty, as if he had been their natural sovereign. The States expressed so much affection to his majesty, and so great a concern for his safety, that they appointed their guards to attend him at his palace,

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and wherever he went ; and ordered grenadiers, in good apparel, and caps richly embroidered, to stand round his table, while he stayed in their dominions.

Some of the foreign ministers had that day a private audience of the king, to compliment him, on the part of their masters, upon his happy accession to the British throne, and his safe arrival at the Hague ; and next morning, the marquis de Chateauneuf, ambassador of France, had an audience for the same purpose. On the 8th September, O. S. the duke d' Ossuna, and the marquis de Monteleone, Plenipotentiaries of Spain, came to the Hague from Utrecht, to wait on the king, and next day they also had a private audience of his majesty ; as had, the day before, the count de Tarouca, and Don Lewis d' Achuna, Plenipotentiaries of Portugal.

While the king was in Holland, the earl of Mar sent the following letter to his majesty, first published from the original by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he promises, " that his majesty shall find him as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant, as ever any of his family have been to the crown, or as he had been to his late mistress, the queen : " viz.

" *Sir,*

" *HAVING* the happiness to be your majesty's subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your Secretaries of state, I beg leave by this to kiss your majesty's

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"hand, and congratulate your majesty's happy accession to the throne, which I would done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have the pleasure of doing it personally ere now.

"I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your majesty, and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late queen's servants whom your ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr Harley, and the earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your majesty; and your ministers carrying so to me, was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

"I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here, upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our Parties here too often occasion; but I hope your majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations."

"The part I acted in bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the crown was settled for Scotland on your majesty's family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of state for that kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your majesty, out of dispute.

"My family had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the crown, and have had the care of the king's children, (when kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your majesty's grandmother, when young; and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters, which I still have under her own hand.

"I had the honour to serve her late majesty, in one capacity or other, ever since her accession to the crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my service; and since your majesty's happy accession to the crown, I hope you will find that

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"I have not been wanting in my duty, in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong, and have some interest in.

"Your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant, as ever any of my family have been to the crown, or as I have been to my late mistress, the queen. And I beg your majesty may be so good not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party-hatred, and my zeal for the interest of the crown, doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection.

"As your accession to the crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your majesty's reign be long and prosperous; and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is, with the humblest duty and respect,

Sir,

Your majesty's most faithful, most
dutiful, and most obedient
Subject and Servant,

Whitehall, Aug. }
30, O. S. 1714. }

MAR."

In the mean time, his majesty's best subjects impatiently longed for his coming; and the rather because the Jacobites hopes of the Chevalier's landing were not yet quite extinguished: nay, it was surmised, that they daily expected him, tho', to render us secure, they were pleased to call it a Whiggish fiction. Many were apprehensive of disturbance from the highlanders, because of their

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strong inclination to the Chevalier's interest, the malignant influence of the Popish priests, trafficking papists, and others, in the north; and their care to provide themselves with arms, before his majesty's accession, as has been already shewn. But our fears were in some measure moderated, by their continuing peaceable hitherto, and might have quite evanished, if the letter sent to the earl of Mar, by M^rLean of that Ilk, M^rDonnel of Glen-garie, M^rKenzie of Fraserdale, Cameron of Lochiel, M^rLeod of Contulick, M^rDonnel of Keppoch, Grant of Glenmoristoun, M^rIntosh of that Ilk, Chisholm of Comer, M^rPherson of Cluny, and Sir Donald M^rDonald, (who were said to be chiefs of the highland clans) had been sooner made public. For therein they would have him to assure the government of their loyalty to his sacred majesty, king George; as may be more fully seen in the letter itself, viz.

“ My Lord,

“ So soon as we heard the afflicting news of the death of her
 “ late majesty, queen Anne, it did exceedingly comfort us, that,
 “ after so good and great a queen, who had the hearts, and con-
 “ sulted the true happiness of all her people, we were to be go-
 “ verned by his sacred majesty, king George, a prince so bright-
 “ ly adorned with all royal virtues, that Britain, under his royal
 “ administration, shall still be flourishing at home, and able to
 “ hold the balance in the affairs of Europe. Allow us, my lord,
 “ to please ourselves with this agreeable perswasion, that his ma-
 “ jesty's royal and kindly influence shall reach to us, who are

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"the most remote, as well as to others of his subjects, in this is-
 "and. We are not ignorant that there are some people forward
 "to misrepresent us, from particular private views of their own,
 "and who, to reach their own ends against us, on all occasions,
 "endeavour to make us, in the highlands of Scotland, pass for
 "disaffected persons.

"Your lordship has an estate and interest in the highlands,
 "and is so well known to bear good-will to your neighbours,
 "that in order to prevent any ill impressions which malicious
 "and ill-designing people may at this juncture labour to give of
 "us, We must beg leave to address your lordship, and intreat
 "you to assure the government, in our names, and in that of the
 "rest of the clans, who, by distance of place, could not be pre-
 "sent at the signing of this letter, of our loyalty to his sacred
 "majesty, king George. And we do hereby declare to your
 "lordship, that as we were always ready to follow your direc-
 "tions in serving queen Anne, so we will now be equally for-
 "ward to concur with your lordship in faithfully serving king
 "George. And we entreat your lordship would advise us how
 "we may best offer our duty to his majesty upon his coming ov-
 "er to Britain; and on all occasions we will beg to receive your
 "counsel and direction how we may be most useful to his royal
 "government.

"We are, with all truth and respect, &c."

We do not pretend to announce assuredly, whe-
 ther it be true, that the earl had influenced these
 gentlemen to write after this manner, to give him
 an opportunity to impose on the government, to
 neglect the proper provisions for the nation's
 safety, till they should be surprised with a foreign
 power; what use he made of this letter; or what

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answer he returned them. But most certain it is, that he broke through all his oaths, promises, and professions of loyalty, and induced these gentlemen to join in the rebellion, as the sequel of this history will clearly evince.

But to return to the series of the history: His majesty's accession to the British throne quickened the slow paces of the courts of France and Spain, in relation to the treaties yet depending; so that the very same day the king arrived at the Hague, the French ambassador received advice, that the treaty of peace between the emperor and France, had, on the 7th of September, N. S. been signed at Baden; and that the king of Spain had ratified the treaties of Peace and Commerce between him and the States General, without any restrictions.

The States General having concerted several important affairs with the king, his majesty resolved to embark for England with the first fair wind; and in order thereto his baggage was sent to the yachts, which, on the 14th of September, sailed down the Maese, from Rotterdam to the Briel.

On the 16th of September, the king and prince having taken their leave of the States deputies, who waited on them, with a great number of nobility and gentry, to the sea-side, embarked at Oranien-polder, about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, his majesty on board the *Peregrine*, and the prince on

Arrival of his majesty, King George, in Britain.

board the William and Mary Yacht, which having soon after joined the squadron of Dutch and British men of war, that waited on them at the mouth of the Maese, under the command of the earl of Barkeley, they sailed for England with a fair wind. The next day, about 9 in the evening, they arrived safe at the Hope, near Gravesend, where the admiral thought proper to drop anchor, till next morning. There being a thick fog on the Saturday morning, the yachts did not go up the river till the afternoon. The magistrates of Gravesend took this opportunity to wait on his majesty on board his yacht, with a loyal address, to congratulate him on his happy accession to the throne, and safe arrival in Britain. They were graciously received by the king, who allowed them to kiss his hand. About noon, the yachts weighed anchor, and sailed up the river; and some miles above Gravesend, the king and the prince went into a barge, and arrived at Greenwich after 6 in the evening. The duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, then in waiting, and the lord chancellor, at the head of the lords of the Regency, received his majesty at his landing, and complimented him on his safe arrival. Thereafter, his majesty walked to his house in the park, accompanied by most of the nobility, and great numbers of the principal gentry, through a vast crowd of people, who repeated their joyful acclamations; and the

Arrival of his majesty.

night concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and all other demonstrations of public joy.

While his majesty was but a little past the Nore, coming up towards Greenwich, and the nobility and gentry, who had repaired thither from London and the country about, were waiting for his landing, the Tories observed an air of joy in the faces of the Whigs; and it being surmised by some of the faction, that the Whigs (whom they mortally hated) had certainly assurances of his majesty's favor, and that the Tory ministry would lose their posts, if his majesty were once in the exercise of the government, they presently met with the duke of Ormond, and sent for such of their friends as they could most easily find, to consult what was proper for them to do, that it might appear to the king they were the strongest party and most able to support him, that by those means they might get his majesty into their management, and keep out the Whigs from all places of power and trust in the government, as they had projected before his majesty's accession. After some reasoning, they came to this resolution, "that they should separate from the Whigs, and appear by themselves, at his majesty's landing;" and two of their number were ordered immediately to signify this resolution to all their friends, and give them notice to keep together, to attend in a separate body at the king's arrival.

Arrival of his majesty.

And as to their attending and addressing the king, it was unanimously agreed, that as all the ministers of state of her late majesty were with them, and still in office by the act of succession, it could not be better ordered, than that they should all go in the head of their party, and the lord chancellor at their head, who should be desired in a few chosen words, to speak to his majesty in name of them all, "expressing their sorrow for the death of their royal mistress, the joy and satisfaction they had in his majesty's safe arrival, and the care they had shewn, in their several stations, to preserve his succession, secure the public peace, and to prevent the disorders, which any might expect to raise on such a great occasion; and having thus introduced himself, to recommend them all, one by one, to his majesty's favor, and to the honour of kissing his hand." By these means, they concluded, that the king would have them one by one presented to him, see who they were, and how important their strength; which, they doubted not, would be by that means rendered considerable to his majesty, and formidable to their enemies; and that it could not be otherwise, when a large majority of the parliament should appear to be with them, and especially the most eminent of the spiritual lords, and others of the clergy.

But before they had got their party together, several messengers came in from the two lords,

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who had been sent out for that purpose, to tell them, there was no time to do any thing, nor could any measures be observed; for every man was dispersed in the crowd, the king was in sight, and would be on shore in a quarter of an hour. Hereupon, one of the lords who was just speaking, made a stop, and seeing every one rise up in a hurry, said no more than "Well, my lords, then we are all lost;" and rising up with the rest, they broke up their meeting, and walked towards the water-side, where they found the king just come ashore; so that they had neither opportunity to keep together, so as to be seen, nor hardly to make their bow, at the little pause the king made there; but followed with the rest of the illustrious company, into the palace, where every one had access for the first compliment; and his majesty making as yet no distinction, gave them his hand to kiss, promiscuously, as they came up; till his majesty having undergone the fatigue of a vast crowd, which could not but be irksome after his long voyage, retired to his bed-chamber.

These gentlemen, though thus disconcerted in the design they had of coming in a body to the king, had yet resolved to appear as much together as they could, and first or last to let the king see what figure they could make as a party; but next morning an effectual stop was put to their project: for, the lord viscount Townshend, by his majesty's

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order, acquainted the duke of Ormond, "that his majesty had no longer occasion for his service in the quality of Captain-general of the army, but would be glad to see him at court." The duke received the message, as might be expected from the easiness of his disposition; but it would be tedious to describe how the rest resented it. A certain author tells us, that the news was spread in a moment through the whole court; and that the party, surprised and exasperated to the last degree, run directly to the duke's lodgings to be informed of the particulars. The crowd was very great, and the opinions of the duke's friends were various: the warm ones, and those especially of the late cabal, advised him to have left the place and gone straightway to London, and not to have appeared at court again, nor at the public entry the king was to make through the city next day, to his royal palace at St. James's; but others, more moderate, advised him not to discover so great an uneasiness, but to appear easy and pleased, to shew himself to the king and the Whigs, as one unconcerned at the matter, and ready to be a dutiful subject to his master, though at present he might seem to be laid aside. This was allowed to be a good advice, and was more agreeable to his own inclination; because any undutiful carriage to the king at that occasion, was enough to have lost their credit with the com-

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mon people, who were not yet deluded into their Tory measures.

The party, however, were convened again in a full assembly that evening, rather, it may be supposed, to vent their resentment (which they did with freedom enough) than to enter into any measures for their future conduct; which few of them were at that time in temper enough to consider upon: and not long after this assembly broke up, they met again in several large committees, whereof the largest was at the duke's apartment, who, adjourning from thence, met at the lodging of another of their friends, and began to enter seriously into the consideration of the state of the nation. And if we compare the consequence of things with what was resolved on here, it may be said without any injustice to the party, that the rebellion was concerted at that time; and that black confederacy was entered into then, which would certainly have issued in a fatal establishment of Popery and French tyranny, by setting on the throne the Chevalier, supported by a French power, had not Providence seasonably interposed, and broke through all their devices. For there the seeds of faction were sown, a conspiracy was laid to withdraw the people's affections from their lawful sovereign, and for a pretence, *the church's danger* was their cant. One of these high-church gentlemen, (for so they called themselves) says, "I never expect any thing

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but confusion, if the interest of the church comes to be at the mercy of the low-men and presbyterians, the latter of whom I always looked upon to be worse than the Papists; nor let the low-men ever pretend to blame us, if we join with Papists against them, while they join with Presbyterians against the church. If these men, or any they shall set up, take such measures as I am satisfied will destroy the church, I freely declare myself to be for any successor, rather than suffer the church to be overwhelmed with *fanaticks* of any kind, &c."

But to give a full detail of all the treasonable discourse vented in that meeting, would be superfluous: it may suffice to transcribe the following speech delivered by an ancient nobleman, (whose name our author has thought proper to conceal) which contains the sum of all the rest, with the scheme then concerted.

"My lords, this unanimity of our counsels encourages me to promise ourselves all the success imaginable; it is well known, my lords, I never was for this new law that has brought in the family of —; indeed, had the king acted in favor of our party at his coming hither, I should have acted to him as became me; but since these are the measures, we have another game to play, and I think it is the most favorable juncture that ever offered for king James III. For this way of the Whigs proceedings may be easily improved to disoblige

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the whole nation, if we do but take care to make such use of it at home and abroad as we may do, and we must be blind if we do it not. I think we have two things before us, and if we manage them right, they will one assist the other to carry on the work, and that with all the success that can be expected. First, my lords, we must begin with our own people at home, and then with our allies abroad; if we gain the point at home, and bring the common people to a general dissatisfaction and uneasiness, that very point will encourage the power we depend upon abroad to assist us; and this is what I meant, by saying we had two things before us, one of which being gained, would assist to gain the other.

“ We have nothing to do now, but, by the assistance of our friends, and particularly the clergy, to possess the common people with apprehensions of an Anti-church of England tyranny going to be erected amongst us. As the Whigs have not at all obliged us, so we are not to spare them in any respect; and it is hoped that we are far from being in so mean a posture as not to make them sensible of it. We have ways to draw the people from them, and, the clergy assisting, we need not fear raising such dissatisfactions in the nation against them, as will soon convince them that they are not the party that are able to support them. As to the method, it is easy, as I shall explain in very few words.

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First, our business is not to spare even the person and family of the king himself; and though we may give ourselves a little more liberty to be free with his character, than we should otherwise do, the case being so extraordinary we cannot avoid it, and must be excused by the necessity we are under. As to the Whigs, who pretend to a full possession of his affections, we must treat them after the same manner as they have treated us.

“ It is but too evident that these men have misrepresented us for many months past, insinuating things to the Successor which, it is manifest, has prepossessed him against us, and has brought him to put himself wholly into their hands, as the only people to be trusted with his person, and with the administration of his government; and gross falsehoods and untruths have, there is no doubt, been raised against us. Lord Rochester evidently proves there is a necessity to deal with such men in their own way, and to fight them at their own weapons; nor are we so strictly to confine ourselves to facts in this case; for our business now with them, is what, for some time past, their business has been with us, viz. general aspersion, calumny, and reproach; and as they represented us to be enemies to the succession, so we are to represent them to the people, to be enemies to the church of England; which if we can once effectually do through the whole nation, perhaps we may be as able to go

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as far with them one way, as they have gone with us another.

“ It is impossible, my lords, to say, that every word, which persons employed by us may speak, shall be literally true in cases of this nature ; there must be a latitude for invention : the business is in short, this, ‘ the King must be blackened and rendered disagreeable ; his measures must be represented terrible ; his ministry contemptible ; and his government foreign and encroaching.’ We are not to examine the methods our people may take to do this ; if they trespass upon truth, it must be laid to the charge of those who are the cause.”

Here he made a pause ; but, observing the audience encouraged him to proceed, he continued, “ My lords, above all, the imminent danger the church of England is reduced to, and the visible prospect of her immediate overthrow, by the growing interest of Presbyterians, Low-church, Deists, and Atheists ; the affront these things are, not to the church only, but to God himself, and to all revealed religion, will fill the mouths of the clergy throughout the kingdom, who, when they shall have it represented how the king has dismissed the duke of Ormond, and disobliged all the church’s friends, will form so universal a prejudice over the whole kingdom, that I make no question, but it shall be truly said, that this day, being the first day

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of the king's administration, his Whig servants shall have robbed him of the love of his people."

At this word, says our quoted author, the whole room perfectly shouted, and seemed inflamed with a kind of rage, or ecstasy of some mixture between malice and satisfaction, as if they saw their revenge at hand, and their spirits were exalted at the view. "My lords," continued he, "you will pardon me that I dwell long, and lay a great stress upon this project of turning the affections of the people from the person and government of the king; I know, and your lordships cannot be ignorant, that the hearts of subjects are the glory and strength of kings; nor is there any thing in the world equal to it in the thoughts of a good prince. If then we can give a turn to this, we wound the new administration in the most sensible and tender parts. We shall either convince them of the mistake in first turning of us, or be able, by a general disaffection, to leave him alone without a people, and then the game is our own; for then, whenever we think fit to take arms, the people are our own; and no foreign prince will be backward to assist us: and this is the last part of my discourse, though it be the first in my design."

The speech of this eminent person had by this time opened their eyes, and now they saw plainly that he was coming to what they so long expected,

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viz, the Chevalier, and he gave them full satisfaction immediately; for being called upon to go on, he made a small stop, and then proceeded: "My lords," said he, "now I am come to the head of foreign aid, I must tell you that this is the thing I have all along had in view; but, my lords, as no foreign force can ever hurt this kingdom if united among themselves, so if we can first draw off the common people from their affection to, and opinion of the new governors, leave those who are abroad to manage those who are abroad, the division at home is our work; and if we can bring this to pass, as never was so fair an occasion, or so just a pretence, we shall soon see many thousands repent what has been done this day."

Hereupon a certain clergyman, who had heard him patiently, stood up, and said, "I perceive, my lords, by your very smiles, a general satisfaction at the excellent things that noble lord has been pleased to say, and the scheme he has laid, *divinely wise*, for recovering the interest of the church from the dangers that surround her. I have nothing to add to it, but to give you the satisfaction of telling you that his lordship has perfectly anticipated me in the schemes I had to offer; all is done to my hand, and I have nothing to do but confirm all that has been said. Our business lies in a narrow compass; the people must be drawn off from this government, from the person, conduct, and family of the sovè-

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reign ; they must be alarmed with apprehensions, and possessed with notions of the church and constitution being to be destroyed. I need not tell you any thing now of the thing itself, his lordship having fully described it ; but this I have to add : that for the performance, leave us of the clergy to do the work. I engage there shall not be a clergyman in fifteen, throughout the nation, but shall cry Fire, and raise the *posse* against the government. The universities, especially that of Oxford, whose patron and benefactor the duke is, who adore his person, and applaud his conduct to a happy extreme, shall do their part ; and if we begin here, how can we fail any where else, since the University is the nursery of high-church principles, and will not fail to assist in spreading them over the whole nation."

This they all assented to : and the next thing that fell under their consideration, was, what they were to do as to the show next day, respecting the king's entry ; whether they should appear at the court in the morning, and go in train with them, or not ? And at length the assembly agreed to separate from the court, make their place of rendezvous at the duke of Ormond's levee, from whence they resolved to drive directly to London, with the duke, and neither take their leave at court, or any notice of the court in it. With this resolution the cabal broke up, and the lords made it their busi-

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ness, to communicate their design to all their friends, who generally were pleased with the project; but when they came to the duke himself, he could not be prevailed upon to comply with this last project, alledging "that to shew himself thus popular, would bring thousands of enemies upon him, and perhaps open the door to future inconveniences, which at present might be avoided." By this the rest were obliged, to their great disappointment, to lay aside the thoughts of it; and reserving all their other wicked agreements, they resolved, though against their inclinations, to appear at the public entry of the king, which they accordingly did.

The duke of Marleborough (who arrived at Dover, the day her late majesty died, and was received at London on the 4th August, with the universal acclamations of the people) appeared now at court in his usual splendour; and was looked upon (though not yet declared) as Captain-general of the army, in the room of the duke of Ormond. The duke of Argyle was made groom of the stool to the Prince, as an acknowledgement for his firmness to the Hanover succession; and some others were advanced to places of honour and profit, while his majesty was yet at Greenwich.

On Monday the 20th September, the King and Prince made their entry from Greenwich, through the city of London, with great magnificence, to

His Majesty's entry into London.

the royal palace of St. James's, his majesty's coach being preceded by more than two hundred of those of the nobility and gentry, all with six horses, the juniors marching first; and were met at St. Margaret's hill in Southwark, by the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, sheriffs and officers of the city, on horseback, all in their robes, who likewise passed through the city before his majesty, in a most splendid manner; every one expressing the utmost joy and satisfaction at his majesty's happy accession to the throne of his royal ancestors. At his majesty's arrival at his royal palace, the cannon in the park were three times discharged, and the evening concluded with illuminations, &c. demonstrating the most universal joy. And public rejoicings were made by his majesty's good subjects throughout his dominions, so soon as they heard the joyful news of his safe arrival.

The 22d of September, in the morning the court was very numerous: and several foreign ministers, particularly the envoys of France, Poland, Prussia, and the ambassador of the king of Sicily, took that opportunity to compliment his majesty on his happy accession to the throne, and safe arrival.

That same day, the council convened, and the members present, were, the lord chancellor, the dukes of Somerset, Northumberland, Bolton, Devonshire, Marleborough, Montrose, Roxburgh, and Kent; the marquises of Lindsay, Dorchester, and

His Majesty's Oath to secure the Church of Scotland.

Annandale; the earls Sunderland, Clarendon, Anglesy, Carlisle, Radnor, Rochester, Abingdon, Oxford, Wharton, Cholmondely, Mar, Loudon, Findlater, Orkney, Hay, Orford, Portmore, and Orrery; the lord viscount Townshend; the bishop of London; the lords Paget, Berkely, Guildford, Somers, Guernsey, Mansel, Trevor, Lansdown, Bingley, and Coningsby; Mr Secretary Bromley; Mr Vice-chamberlain Coke; the chancellor of the Exchequer; the lord chief justice Parker; Sir John Holland, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr Smith, Mr Vernon, Mr Erle, and Mr Hill.

His majesty, at his first coming into the council, was pleased to declare, that understanding that the law requires he should, at his accession to the crown, take and subscribe the oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, he was now ready to do it, this first opportunity. And accordingly his majesty took the said oath, with great alacrity, in the following words:

“ I, George, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. do faithfully promise and swear, that I will inviolably maintain and preserve the settlement of the true Protestant religion, with the government, worship, discipline, rights and privileges of the church of Scotland, as established by the laws made there, in prosecution of the *claim of right*; and particularly by an act, entitled, “ Act for securing the Protestant religion

His majesty's declaration in council.

and Presbyterian church government; and by the acts passed in the parliaments of both kingdoms, for Union of the two kingdoms. So help me God.

GEORGE R."

His majesty after this subscribed two instruments thereof, in presence of the lords of the council; and ordered one of the said instruments to be transmitted to the court of session, to be recorded in the books of *sederunt*, and afterwards to be forthwith lodged in the public register of Scotland; and that the other of them remain among the records of the council, and to be entered into the council-book.

His majesty was then pleased to make the following declaration, which, at the humble request of the lords of council, he granted might be made public.

"Having in my answers to the addresses of both houses of Parliament, fully expressed my resolution to defend the religion and civil rights of all my subjects, there remains very little for me to say upon this occasion.

"Yet being willing to omit no opportunity of giving all possible assurances to a people who have already deserved so well of me, I take this occasion also to express to you my firm purpose to do all that is in my power, for the supporting and maintaining the churches of England and Scotland, as they are severally by law established; which, I am of opinion, may be effectually done, without the

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least impairing the toleration allowed by law to Protestant dissenters, so agreeable to Christian charity, and so necessary to the trade and riches of this kingdom.

“ The good effects of making property secure, are no where so clearly seen, and to so great a degree, as in this happy kingdom ; and I assure you, that there is not any amongst you shall more earnestly endeavour the preservation of it than myself.”

That same day, the Prince was, by his majesty's command, introduced into the privy council, where his royal highness took his place at his majesty's right hand. The arch-bishop of York, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Halifax, were sworn lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and took their places accordingly. And the king being sufficiently apprized of the male-administration of the late ministers of state, especially in the late treaty with France, their disaffection to the succession in his most illustrious family, and their endeavours to bring in the Chevalier, his majesty thought it not safe to continue them any longer in such important posts ; and, at the same time, delivered the Great-Seal to William lord Cowper ; declared the earl of Nottingham, lord President of the council ; the earl of Wharton, lord Privy seal ; and the earl of Sunderland, lord lieutenant of Ireland. And on September 26th, it was publicly declared, that the

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king had been pleased to appoint John duke of Marlborough, to be Captain-general of his majesty's land forces; the right honourable James Stanhope Esq. to be one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of state, in room of Mr Bromley; and his grace the duke of Montrose, to be another of his majesty's principal Secretaries of state, in room of the earl of Mar, who had been removed from that office the day before. The duke of Roxburgh was made keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, in room of the earl of Seafield and Findlater; and the marquis of Annandale, lord Privy seal, in room of the duke of Athol.

On the 27th, it was publicly made known, that his majesty had appointed John duke of Argyle, General of Foot, and General and Commander-in-chief of his majesty's land forces in Scotland; Charles duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse; the honorable Robert Walpole to be Receiver and Paymaster-general of all the guards and garrisons, and all other his majesty's land forces in Great-Britain; the duke of Marlborough was also made Colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards, and Master-general of the Ordnance; and on these and the following days of this month, many other promotions and changes were made at court, too many to be here particularly related.

That same day, it was also declared, that his majesty had been pleased, by letters patents under

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the Great seal of Great-Britain, to create his royal highness, George Augustus, (formerly Prince of Great-Britain, electoral Prince of Brunswiek-Lunenburgh, duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, duke and marquis of Cambridge, earl of Milford-haven and of Carrick, viscount North-Allerton, baron of Tewkesbury and Renfrew, lord of the Isles, Steward of Scotland, and knight of the most honorable order of the Garter) Prince of Wales, and earl of Chester.

The same day his majesty signified his royal pleasure to dissolve the privy council, and to appoint the lords and others hereafter named to be of the same, viz. His royal highness, George Prince of Wales; the arch-bishops of Canterbury and York; the lord chancellor Cowper; the dukes of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Somerset, Bolton, Marlborough, Argyle, Montrose, Roxburgh, and Kent; the marquis of Lindsay; the earls of Nottingham, Wharton, Suffolk, Sunderland, Anglesey, Carlisle, Abigdon, Scarborough, and Orford; the lord viscount Townshend; the bishop of London; the lords Somers and Halifax; Thomas Cooke, Vice-chamberlain to his majesty; Mr Secretary Stanhope; the lord chief Justice Parker; Thomas Erle, Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance; and Robert Walpole, Esq. These honourable persons were directed to attend his majesty at St. James's, the 1st

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October, in order to be sworn, which they accordingly did.

And about twelve days after, the marquis of Anandale, lord keeper of the Privy seal of Scotland, the earl of Cholmondely, the lord Guernzey, Sir Richard Onslow, and Hugh Boscawen, Esq. were added to that honorable court.

About that time, his majesty thought fit also to make several removals and promotions in Ireland: Allan Broderick, Esq. was appointed lord chancellor, in room of Sir Constantine Phipps; William Whitshed, Esq. lord chief Justice of the king's bench, in room of Sir Richard Cox; John Foster, Esq. lord chief Justice of the common pleas, in room of Robert Doyne, Esq.; Joseph Dean, Esq. lord chief baron of the Exchequer, in room of Robert Rochford, Esq.; and James M'Cartney, Esq. one of the Judges in the king's bench, in room of Richard Nutley, Esq.

The priy council of that kingdom was also dissolved, and another nominated, consisting of the following persons, viz. Henry Boyle, lord Treasurer; the arch-bishops of Dublin and Tuam; the duke of Ormond; the earls of Kildare, Thomond, Meath, Inchiquin, Barrymore, Montrath, Anglesy, Mount-Alexander, Galloway, and Abercorn; the lord viscounts Merrion, Blessington, Mountjoy, and Castlecomer; the bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Dromore; the lords Santry, Conningsby, Berk-

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ley, Shelburn, and Tyrawly; Francis Roberts, Esq. Sir John Percival, Sir Thomas Southwell, Sir John Stanley, Sir William St. Quintin, Sir Gustavus Hume, Sir Ralph Gore, Sir Edward Crofton, Sir Henry Tichburn; Allan Broderick, William Whitshed, John Foster, Joseph Deane, Thos. Keightly, Thomas Erle, Thomas Broderick, Robert Molesworth, Edward Southwell, Francis Gwyn, George Doddington, Joseph Addison, William Connelly, Theophilus Butler, Oliver St. George, John Allen, Benjamin Parry, and Charles Fane, Esqrs.; Major-general Gustavus, Frederick Hamilton, and Lieutenant-general Thomas Meridith.

Upon the 9th October, the Lords Justices and council met at the castle, where Sir Constantine Phipps resigned the Seal, which was taken into the custody of lord Mount-Alexander, and the lord chief baron Dean, till the arrival of the lord chancellor Broderick. After which, Sir Samuel Cook, and the aldermen of Dublin, being summoned to attend the council, alderman James Barlow was sworn lord mayor, and afterwards knighted; and Mr Aldrich and Mr Verdoen were appointed Sheriffs, whereby that capital city was restored to her ancient rights and former tranquillity. Sir Constantine Phipps, apprehensive of being insulted by the mobs, embarked for England, that night.

That same day, his majesty was pleased to appoint lords lieutenants for most of the counties of

Arrival of the Princess of Wales.

England, that had been hitherto unprovided ; and about two days after, it was declared, that his majesty had been pleased to appoint Charles lord Halifax, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir William St. Quintin, baronets ; Edward Wortley Montague, and Paul Methven, Esqrs. to be commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer ; and Sir Richard Onslow to be Chancellor thereof ; and the earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, and Sir Charles Turner, knights ; George Doddington, Abraham Stanyan, and George Bailie, Esqrs. to be commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland ; and John Aslabie, Esq. to be Treasurer of the Navy : beside several other alterations and promotions that were made to places of public trust.

On the 11th October, her royal highness, the Princess of Wales, with the two princesses Anne and Elizabeth, her daughters, and their retinue, landed at Margate. The Prince of Wales, having received the news of their arrival, set out next morning, accompanied by the dukes of Argyle and Somerset, and the earl of Bridgewater, and met the Princess beyond Rochester, attended by the countesses of Dorset and Berkely, two of the ladies of her highness's bed-chamber. Their royal highnesses lodged at Rochester that night, and passed through London next day, to the royal pa-

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lace at St. James's, vast numbers of spectators attending them, with loud acclamations of joy.

On the 15th October, his majesty was pleased to direct letters patents to pass the seals of Great-Britain, for advancing some of the former Peers to higher degrees, and creating new ones; and to sign a commission for Lieut. general Cadogan, (who a few days before had been made master of the robes, and his majesty's Envoy extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary to the States-general of the United Provinces, and Plenipotentiary in the Netherlands) to be Colonel of the second regiment of Foot Guards, in room of General Churchill. Next day, the dukes of Bolton and Rutland, with the earls of Dorset and Halifax, who were promoted to that dignity the day before, were elected knights of the garter; and Sir Richard Temple, who the day before was made baron of Cobham, was appointed his majesty's Envoy extraordinary to the court of Vienna.

Two days after, several more of the nobility and gentry were promoted; amongst whom was the earl of Stair, who was made one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber, and afterwards appointed his majesty's Envoy to the court of France.

The 20th October being appointed for the king's coronation, and all things now in readiness, his majesty went, with the usual solemnities, to Westminster Abbey, where the bishop of Oxford preach-

His Majesty's Coronation.

ed an excellent Sermon, on Psal. cxyiii. 24. "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it:" wherein he gave an emphatical account of the great deliverance we received by his majesty's accession to the crown.

Thereafter, his majesty was crowned and anointed King, in the usual manner, by Doctor Thomas Tennison, arch-bishop of Canterbury; and all the people then present, being asked, did publicly acknowledge his majesty as their King, and promised subjection unto him: crying out, 'God save the king.' This solemnity being over, the king returned to his royal palace at St. James's, and the day concluded with bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other marks of general joy.

The day of his majesty's coronation was observed as a day of solemn rejoicing throughout his dominions. Chearfulness appeared in the faces of all his good subjects, who were now in the peaceable possession of a Protestant king, a blessing they so much had longed for, to the great disappointment of the Popish and Jacobite party.

They likewise testified their joy for his majesty's accession, arrival, and coronation, by the vast number of congratulatory addresses that were presented to his majesty on this occasion: for, soon after the king came to London, loyal addresses crowded in from the most considerable parts of Britain and Ireland: wherein, the addressers generally acknow-

Joy of his majesty's subjects.

ledged his majesty's just right and title to the imperial crown of these kingdoms; congratulate his peaceable accession to the throne; testify their loyalty and affection to his royal person and government, and their zeal for his interest; promise subjection unto him as their only rightful and lawful sovereign; and that, to the utmost of their power, in their stations, they will defend his sacred person and support his title, against all enemies whatsoever; pray that his reign may be long and prosperous; and that the crown may still continue in his majesty's royal family, and desoend from age to age upon some of his royal issue, to the latest posterity.

And particularly, the royal boroughs of Scotland, which, before the Union, was the third estate of Parliament, presented an address to his majesty, wherein they congratulate his accession to the crown, at such a juncture, which gave them a glorious prospect, that the religion, laws, liberties, and Presbyterian church government, as by law established, would be inviolably maintained; that their trade would be encouraged, and freed from the encroachments it lay under, by destructive treaties of Commerce: an instance how joyful his majesty's best subjects were upon this occasion.

The commission of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, as they had early sent up their humble address, to testify their particular joy and

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satisfaction at his majesty's happy accession to the crown, &c. so they had likewise appointed the reverend Mr William Carstairs, Principal of the college of Edinburgh, Mr William Mitchel, and Mr James Hart, ministers there, Mr Thomas Linning minister at Lesmahago, and Mr. James Ramsay minister at Kelso, to wait on the king, on this occasion; and these brethren having arrived at London about the end of October, were, on the 1st of November, introduced to his majesty by his Grace the duke of Montrose; where Mr Carstairs did, in their name, congratulate his majesty upon his happy accession to the throne, in the following speech:

“ May it please your majesty, The ministers and elders of the commission of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, had such a particular satisfaction in your majesty's happy accession to the throne of these nations, that they did not only embrace, with the greatest chearfulness, the first opportunity of congratulating your majesty by an humble address, upon so remarkable an event, in which the divine goodness to these nations, and to all Protestant churches, doth signally appear, but they did also judge it their duty to appoint us, who now, through your royal goodness, have the honour to be in your majesty's presence, to testify, in their name, the deep and thankful sense they have of the mercy of the God of heaven, who hath brought your majesty to your dominions in peace

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and safety, and placed that crown upon your royal head, to which your majesty alone had a just and unquestionable right; and that in such a way as fills both your majesty's friends and loyal subjects with admiration and thankfulness, and your open and secret enemies with amazement and confusion, even when they were big with expectations of having a Popish Pretender advanced to the throne, which now, to the universal joy of all the true lovers of the Protestant religion, and of the civil liberties of men, your majesty is rightfully possessed of. And long may the crown flourish upon the head of a Prince, whose eminent virtues are an ornament, and give a bright lustre to it.

“ We persuade ourselves, Great Sir, that the noble patriots of North-Britain, who are deservedly honoured with your majesty's favour, have so fully informed you of the zeal of the church of Scotland for the interest of your majesty and your royal family, that there is nothing left for us to represent on that head; only we may truly say, that it was a zeal so rooted and sincere, that the menaces of those who were as great enemies to the Protestant succession in your royal family, as they were to the constitution of our church, could not shake; nor could the discouragements which they brought upon us, for our firm adherenee to your majesty's just title, either cool it upon the one hand, or, upon the other, so inflame it, as to make us go be-

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yond those bounds that were consistent with our loyalty to our late sovereign queen Anne, and our concern for your majesty's interest, which the enemies of your majesty and the church of Scotland, did greatly long and wish for, and was one of the happy instances of their late disappointment.

“ We do not, Sir, mention these things, to plead merit with your majesty; for we did nothing but what was our duty to God, to our country, and indeed for our own true interest; there being few, if any, in Scotland, who are enemies to our church establishment, but such as are equally so, and for the same reason, to the late revolution, and to your majesty's just title: only we hope, that we shall have the honour to be always considered by your majesty, as your faithful and loyal subjects, and have your gracious protection.

“ We are, may it please your majesty, deeply sensible of the great goodness our church hath already received remarkable proofs of, from your majesty, in your most gracious answer to the humble address of the commission of the General Assembly of our church, and in your majesty's obliging yourself, so seasonably, by oath, to maintain the Presbyterian government, doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of Scotland, with all the legal rights, and privileges thereof; so that your majesty has given us good ground to hope, that we shall not only be preserved from all insults and

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encroachments upon our constitution for the future, but that we shall also have favorable hearing, as to any just and seasonable representations of what is grievous to us, which we may presume, at any time, to lay before your majesty.

“ We humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that it will be the care of the ministers of our church, to behave themselves, as that it may appear they are steady in their loyalty to your majesty, as the only rightful and lawful sovereign of these nations, and zealously concerned for the quiet of your government; and that they will be earnest and constant in their endeavours to instruct the people, and to establish them in their duty and affection to your majesty's person and government, that they may not be imposed upon by false insinuations and artifices of such as are enemies to both.

“ May the all sufficient God present your majesty with the blessings of his goodness, and convey an uninterrupted succession of signal mercies to all your dominions, in your royal progeny, to latest posterity. May your hand find out all your enemies. May your majesty never have a subject who shall have so little regard to God and his conscience, as ever to be an abettor of the Chevalier, whom by solemn oath, he hath abjured. May all the Protestant churches, and Europe in general, find the advantages of your wise and just adminis-

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tration. May the eternal God grant you length of days upon earth, and crown you, at last, with glory, honour and immortality, in the highest heavens." To which, his majesty returned this answer: "I heartily join with you, in your thankfulness to God, for having blessed your remarkable firmness in so good a cause, with the desired success. You may be sure of a suitable return on my part, by protecting you in the enjoyment of all your just rights and privileges." After which, they had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand.

They were also introduced to the Prince and Princess of Wales, on the 2d and 4th of November, to whom Mr. Carstairs, in name of the rest, made very handsome speeches. They were graciously received by their royal highnesses, who testified the sense they had of the zeal of the church of Scotland to the Protestant succession in their family; and told the commissioners, that the church of Scotland might assure themselves of their countenance and favor.

But, by this time, the scheme laid down by the Tories, in the Greenwich conspiracy, had taken some effect; and the spirit of Rebellion began to exert itself on the very day of his majesty's coronation. In several great cities of England, the enraged Jacobites endeavoured to raise commotions among the mob, by which, the solemnity of the day was much interrupted.

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The high-church faction, who wanted but a *pre-
tence*, for a ground to disquiet and disturb the
peace of the nation, took umbrage from the chan-
ges at court, to express themselves, as they could
find an opportunity, in the most traiterous and re-
proachful language against the king, and to revile
his majesty's mild administration, by the most ri-
diculous falsehoods that malice could invent. And
now, being persuaded, that his majesty being, by
his coronation, confirmed in the possession of the
throne, would give a dash to the Chevalier's inte-
rest, which they had been endeavouring to pro-
mote for some years past, they resolved to use
their utmost efforts to break the Peace, and ren-
der his reign as uneasy as possible.

And to that end, as they had ever since the
change of the ministry, made it their business to
insinuate that the church was in danger under that
new administration, that they might once more de-
lude the ignorant, unthinking mob, and work them
up to Rebellion by this artifice ; so now they pre-
vailed with that crew, to arm themselves with
clubs and hangers, and in some parts, with guns
and pistols, and other accoutrements, befitting
their pernicious design ; and in a tumultuous and
furious manner, to knock down his majesty's loyal
subjects in the midst of their solemnity, break the
windows that were illuminated in honour of that
occasion, pull down their bonfires, and threaten

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the lives of those zealous Protestants, for no other cause than their loyalty to king George, whom that disorderly rabble cursed most wickedly. The ordinary cry of these insolent mobs was, "Down with the Roundheads; God bless Doctor Sacheverel; Sacheverel for ever, and down with the Whigs; No Hanover, no Cadogan, but Calvert and Clarges; No foreign government; No King William; No Traitor; Who dares disown the Chevalier?" and such other treasonable language.

At Bristol, they murdered one Mr Thomas, for persuading them to withdraw; and several gentlemen were hurt, abused, and insulted. At Taunton, several were knocked down for naming king George; some had their limbs broken, and many were so abused, that their lives were despaired of. In Bedford, the mob, in contempt of his majesty, put the May-Pole into mourning. At Frome, in Somerset-shire, this crew, in contempt of the king, dressed up an idiot, called George, in a fool's coat, saying, 'here is our George, where is ———.' It were tedious to relate their rebellious practices at Chippenham in Wilts, Worcester, Gloucester, Bridgewater, and some other places of England, on the day of the king's coronation, as related in letters from those parts.

Some of the high-church gentlemen and clergy, being desired to join with the cavalcades of the loyalists, they refused to do it; but some of the

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gentlemen headed the mobs ; and some of the clergy took the ropes and clappers from their bells, to keep them from being rung at that solemnity. In their sermons, next Lord's day, others abused those that had observed it; discharging their hearers from having any communion with them.

Though this groundless clamour of the *church's danger* under his majesty's auspicious government, prevailed with a bigotted *half-popish* rabble, yet it could never take with any true member of the church of England. It is their constant opinion, that the church is endangered by none, so much as by themselves, who make such noise about her. Nor did ever any good Protestant think, that the church could be rendered more secure, by setting the Chevalier on the throne, than it is under the reign of his present majesty, king George, who (as well as his royal ancestors for a long series of time) was brought up to the Protestant religion, and hath still been a zealous defender of it.

And seeing the change of the ministers of state is pretended as a ground of their fear for the church of England, and made use of as a handle for their rebellious practices ; it may be proper enough to transcribe what an ingenious writer has advanced, to justify his majesty's procedure in removing some, and advancing others to the helm of affairs. " It would seem (he saith) that those people have forgot, that when queen Anne thought

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fit to change her ministry, and, particularly, in the year 1710, they insisted upon her prerogative to choose her servants, and dissolve her Parliaments, as she pleased. How come they then to grudge the same privilege to his present majesty? Is the prerogative lessened since that time? or, must it never be made use of, but in favour of men, who would betray us to Popery and Slavery? Let these murmurers but cast their eye on the collection of her majesty's Speeches, Messages, &c. lately printed, and they will easily find, without any other evidence, that there was the greatest reason in the world, for turning out such men, as had prostituted her majesty's royal character, and the credit of the nation, by such contradictory measures, as tended to the absolute ruin of the Protestant religion, and the civil liberties of Europe; and let their consciences speak, if they have any, whether it be consistent with the wisdom and security of any Prince, to continue in offices those who had thrown contempt on his memorials, affronted him in the persons of his ministers, countenanced those who wrote against his succession, destroyed the public faith of their country by the breach of solemn alliances, disgraced victorious and triumphant Generals, unjustly reflected on all our confederates, made such treaties as our Parliament have declared to be hurtful to the trade and commerce of the nation, and, which all impartial men must

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those, they call the high-church party; because, therein he said, that "for some time past he could not well doubt of his sister's good intentions towards him;" but not long after, they were obliged to acknowledge it was genuine. For about the beginning of December, O. S. the marquis de Lamberti received an answer from the duke of Lorraine, (dated at Nancy, 6th December, N. S. 1714) in which he says, "that as to the manifesto, or declaration, dated at Plombiers, which the Chevalier de St. George had got printed, I know nothing more of it, than, that he gave me one after it had been published.

The marquis de Lamberti communicated this letter to lord viscount Townshend, who acquainted his majesty with it; but the duke of Lorraine's reasons for the Chevalier's being still in his territories, were not so satisfying, as that his majesty could entertain an intimate friendship with him, until the Chevalier was removed from thence. The marquis de Lamberti finding that the king insisted upon the removal of the Chevalier from Lorraine, before he would admit him to an audience, took leave of lord Townshend, and on the 13th of December, set out, to return to his own country.

Of those who made the riot at Bristol, sixteen were taken and committed; and Judges sent down to try them, by a commission of Oyer and Terminer. When the Judges came there, those of the

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faction who called themselves the Loyal Society, (being the Chevalier's true friends) were as forward to meet and compliment them as the Whigs; but being outwitted by the latter, who were most considerable for their number and wealth; they soon discovered their hypocrisy: for when they saw that the Whigs had prevented them, and attended the Judges with a cavalcade, they fell out into their usual extravagancies, crying, "Down with the Roundheads; No Jaffreys; No Western Assizes, &c." thereby discovering their rebellious and obstinate temper, in the face of the Judges. About two days after, the Grand Jury found bills against most of those that were indicted, and seven of the rioters were brought to their trial. This so exasperated the spirit of the party, that some of them behaved themselves so impudently, that the Judges, being extremely offended, ordered one of them, who had been made a Justice of the Peace by the late Tory ministry, to quit the bench. This trial lasted several days; and a few of those who were found guilty were fined, imprisoned, and ordered to give bail for their good behaviour, for a year. One of them was whipped; others were discharged out of prison upon payment of their fees; and some were set at liberty for want of prosecution. Some of the citizens who had encouraged them in their rebellious practices, and from time to

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time espoused their cause, had likewise, as far as in them lay, hid them from justice.

This trial having, in effect, miscarried, through the corrupt practices of the faction, the high-church party were thereby encouraged to excite riots and tumults in other parts of the nation. His majesty, hereupon, for restraining these tumults, which appeared to have been promoted by Papists, Non-jurors, and others of that kind, did, on the 6th December, issue another proclamation, "Commanding and requiring all Justices of the Peace, and others concerned, with the utmost diligence and application, to put the laws therein mentioned, strictly into execution, against all Papists, Non-jurors, and reputed Papists; by tendering to them the declaration and oaths directed by the said act, and taking from the refusers thereof, their horses, arms, and ammunition; and use their endeavours to confine them to their usual habitations, as appointed by an act, in the sixth year of the late queen Anne. And further, his majesty commanded all Popish Recusants, Natives, or Denisons, above the age of 16 years, to repair to their respective places of abode, and not to remove from thence, or pass above the distance of 5 miles, unless thereunto licensed, according to law. And the respective Justices of the Peace, and others concerned, to execute his majesty's command therein, are thereby required to certify an ac-

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count of what they shall do, pursuant thereto, to his majesty and council."

But nevertheless, the high-church clergy went on, according to their usual custom, to preach on such doctrines as tended to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty's just and undoubted title, and to render his mild administration contemptible. Upon which, his majesty, by advice of his privy council (met at St James's, the 11th of December, 1714,) issued directions to the arch-bishops and bishops, for preserving unity in the church, purity of the Christian faith, and the peace and quiet of the State; charging them strictly, to publish them, and to see that they be accordingly observed within their several dioceses. In which directions, his majesty requires them to take care, "that no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon, lecture, or writing, do presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity, than what is contained in the holy scriptures; nor to intermeddle in any affairs of State or Government, or the constitution of this realm; excepting only at such times, and in such manner, as is more particularly expressed in the said directions: that there be no public opposition between preachers; but that they abstain from all bitter invectives and scurrilous language against all persons whatsoever; that his majesty's titles might not be omitted in the public prayers; and that, with other means

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suitable to their holy profession, they make use of their authority, according to law, for restraining and repressing the exorbitant practices of such as presumed not only to talk or dispute, but also to write and publish books and pamphlets against the Christian Faith, concerning the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, and industriously spread them through the kingdom, contrary to the known laws in that behalf made and enacted; and particularly to an act of Parliament made in the ninth year of the late king William, entitled, an Act for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness." These directions were ill relished by the high-church clergy.

By this time it began to spread, that the parliament, in being at the late queen's demise, would soon be dissolved, and a new one called: and hereupon the Jacobite party in England, that they might not be behind in embarrassing his majesty's measures, by influencing the next elections, not only heightened their ordinary clamour of that church's danger, thereby to inflame the disorders in that part of the nation; but also set their friends in Scotland on work, to promote the cry for dissolving the Union, as indispensably necessary and most seasonable at that juncture. This being the most popular project they could ever have fallen upon, and most likely to take with those who had been for a long time complaining of the burden-

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some taxes imposed by the Union, addresses were immediately set on foot for that purpose; and it was also proposed, that none should be chosen members of parliament here, but such as would engage to use their utmost endeavours to get the Union dissolved. At first, a great many well-meaning people seemed inclinable to fall in with those measures; but afterwards finding, that the Jacobites (the avouched enemies of our church and the Protestant succession) were the most zealous for pushing them on, in order to raise confusion and discord betwixt the two nations, and to get Tory-members elected, they refused to concur, and referred their grievances by the Union to be considered afterwards, when the nation should be in a more settled condition; not doubting of his majesty's justice and goodness to relieve us, in due time, of all the grievances we justly complain of.

This happy turn of affairs, whereby the Jacobite project miscarried, was, in a good measure, owing to the wise conduct and vigilant care of our honourable friends at Edinburgh, who, though zealous enough to have the Union dissolved, wrote to their friends in the country, warning them, "not to concern themselves in the Jacobite councils, nor be dipped in their measures, however gilded with specious pretences, &c."

On the 15th January 1714-15, the king in council, signed a Proclamation for calling a new Parlia-

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ment, soon after which came on the elections of the different members. The Tories used their utmost efforts to get in a set of men that would serve their design; their clergy used a great deal of impudence to influence the voters, and excite the mob (their ordinary tools) to fright such into their pernicious measures, as they could not prevail upon by other means. Nay, some of those who, by virtue of their office, were obliged to have suppressed and prevented riots and tumults on this occasion, did so far condemn his majesty's proclamation for that effect, as to encourage and convocate riotous and tumultuous meetings, in order to interrupt the legal and free election of members in some places. Some persons, unduly elected, were *returned*, instead of honest and loyal gentlemen, who had carried it by a great majority of votes: indeed, sometimes those who had just right to vote, were denied that privilege, when no other reason could be pretended, but their known affection to his majesty king George, and zeal for the safety of the Protestant religion.

It were tedious to relate the insolent behaviour of the faction, on this occasion, at Bristol, and in many other places of England: It may be sufficient to relate the following instance, as a further discovery of the spirit of sedition and rebellion that raged in them, which is transcribed from a letter, dated, Leichest^r, February 12th 1714-15, viz.

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They are not content with insulting and abusing those who are friends to the present establishment; but let loose their fury even against the under sheriff, who, in absence of the high sheriff, was the officer that had a lawful authority from his majesty to take the Poll. Neither the sanction of his office, nor the authority of the king, his master, could secure him from being violently assaulted, pushed down, and threatned to be killed if he did not do as they would have him, though he had just before received the commands of his king, to do justice to his country. Sparkenhoe, of the hundreds, in this country, had the greatest hand in this riot or rebellion.

“ These gentlemen entered Leichestèr in the most pompous manner : the clergy went first, immediately followed by two Owls, the meaning of which piece of wisdom they themselves must explain; the name of one of our candidates was Bird. Five of the clergy drank the French king's health. It is reported of another, when he heard how the party carried all before them, that he said, ‘ If all elections were like ours, we would muffle the gentlemen who keeps the two Turks.’ ”

“ A neighbouring clergyman held one of those two only candles that gave light while the Sheriff was abused, the rest of the courts being adjourned, and all the other candles being out in this.

“ In the midst of these transactions they com-

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elled the Sheriff to swear another deputy, and he was forced to fly out of the court to save his life; and, privately retiring from the town, went next day to London to complain of such insults."

By these, and such other indirect means, several of the Tory party were returned members of parliament. Thomas Foster, Jun. of Bamborough, who has since been general of the English rebels, was at this time elected one of the members for Northumberland, whereof he was a representative in the late Tory Parliament; took the oaths to the Queen and government, and abjured the Chevalier, whose interest he chiefly regarded; as did also many others. And now, on their being elected, they abjure, as aforesaid, and swear allegiance to our present sovereign, though the plan of a rebellion against him was laid: but it is not to be thought strange; being agreeable to the maxim of the party, which, one of them owns, was "to abjure the Chevalier, that they might be put in condition to do him service."

Though we find no such tumultuous and openly rebellious practices at the elections in Scotland; yet the Jacobite party were not wanting to influence the voters in private: And at Inverness, M'Kenzie of Preston-Hall came there with a strong guard of Jacobite highlanders, amongst whom was the laird of Glengary, and other Papists, who threatned the freeholders of the name

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of Fraser, if they did not vote for Preston-Hall to be Parliament-man for the shire; but notwithstanding, Mr Forbes of Culloden carried it by the interest of Brigadier-general Grant, and lord Lovat's friends, who opposed Preston-Hall, because they thought Mr Forbes better affected to the government, which he really was; following the footsteps of an excellent father, who made no small figure in our Scottish Parliament, after the revolution.

The major part of the sixteen Peers, and forty of the forty-five Commoners, elected in Scotland, to represent this part of Great-Britain, in this parliament, were persons of known zeal and affection to the Protestant succession in his majesty's illustrious family, and the present establishment of this kingdom, both in Church and State; nay, many of these noble and worthy patriots had signally appeared for both, when in the greatest danger, before his majesty's happy accession to the throne of these nations.

But though the Jacobites could not carry these elections according to their mind, they still entertained hopes of a speedy redress; and no wonder they did so: for by this time their preparations in the north were mightily advanced.

About the 24th of February, the duke of Argyle, general of his majesty's forces in Scotland, being then at Edinburgh, received advice from those parts, that a vessel loaded with ammunition and

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arms, was landed in the Isle of Sky, and that five strangers who came over in that ship, had instantly dispersed themselves through the country. This was confirmed in a few days after, by a highland gentleman, who acquainted his grace, that the Jacobites in that country were, by that time, in such forwardness to begin their bloody scene, that their officers had received both money, ammunition, and arms, which were distributed amongst them; and that every day they expected the Chevalier's arrival. Hereupon the general, with the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, had a private conference for three hours, in order to regulate the disposal of the few troops that were then in Scotland. The earl of Forfar's regiment was that same day reviewed; and the dragoons who were then at Jedburgh, Kelso, and other parts of the borders, were ordered to the links of Leith, where they were reviewed on the Thursday following.

About the end of February, we had a current report, that the Chevalier, with a French army, had designed to make us a visit in a short time after; that he had signified as much to the Popish and Jacobite highlanders, in answer to their letters they had sent to Lorrain; and that they gave out, they were shortly to join him, with 12,000 men, and expected to be reinforced by the same number of the disaffected party in England and Ireland. This rumour, however, got but little credit

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at court; and, though it had been true, gave no great uneasiness to his majesty's friends and faithful subjects, the nation being then in a better state of defence, than it was at the close of the late reign.

Though the instructions given by his majesty's good subjects in several parts of the nation, to those whom they had chosen to represent them in this parliament, might be worthy of the reader's perusal, yet I have only, as a specimen, transcribed those of the citizens of London; which contain an epitome of the nation's grievances by the late Tory ministry, and are a further confirmation of many things already narrated.

' We, the citizens of London, who have cheerfully elected you to represent us in Parliament, and thereby committed to your trust, the safety, liberty, property, and privileges of us and our posterity, think it our duty, as it is our undoubted right, to acquaint you of what we desire and expect from you, in discharge of the great confidence we repose in you, and what we take to be your duty, as our representatives.

I. ' We desire, and expect, that you will enquire by whose counsel it was, that, after God had blessed the arms of her late majesty, and her allies, with a train of unparalleled successes, she was prevailed upon, contrary to the grand alliance, and her repeated promises from the throne to

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‘ both houses, to send to, or receive managers
‘ from France, to treat separately of a peace, with-
‘ out the knowledge and consent of our allies ?

‘ II. ‘ By whose advice the emperor’s minister,
‘ the count de Gallas, was discharged the court,
‘ for resenting and opposing those separate negoti-
‘ ations, contrary not only to the grand alliance,
‘ but to the Queen’s particular assurances to his
‘ master ?

‘ III. ‘ By whose advice his majesty’s memorial,
‘ delivered by his majesty’s minister, the baron de
‘ Bothmar, against those clandestine and separate
‘ negotiations, was not only disregarded, but called
‘ a libel, and the said minister affronted ?

‘ IV. ‘ By whose advice and management her ma-
‘ jesty was prevailed on first to come to a cessation
‘ of arms with our common enemy, and then so
‘ surprisingly to withdraw our troops from those of
‘ the allies, which was attended with such dismal
‘ consequences ?

‘ V. ‘ By whose advice and management all that
‘ had been gained by a profusion of blood and trea-
‘ sure, in a glorious and successful war, was thrown
‘ up, just as we were seizing the prize of our con-
‘ quest ;, and a free-born people brought within
‘ view of slavery ?

‘ VI. ‘ By whose advice and management our
‘ constitution was strack at, by creating twelve

to their members of Parliament.

new lords at once, to carry a vote in the upper house?

VII. By whose advice it was, that the treaty with the French for setting our common barrier in the Netherlands, and making them guarantees of the Protestant succession, was enervated, and a new treaty, which weakened both securities, made in its place?

VIII. By whose advice and management we were mocked with the assurances of being free from the danger of the neighbouring fortress of Dunkirk; and whether the late ministry, or any of them did agree, that the French king should make a new harbour at Mardyke, as part of the equivalent for demolishing the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk?

IX. By whose advice and management the best branches of our trade were exchanged for chimera's, and the ruin of the whole endangered by a vile treaty of commerce with France?

X. How the expedition in Canada came to miscarry; and by whose advice her majesty, contrary to her Proclamations published in New England, &c. for encouraging that expedition, came to allow the French to keep their interest in Canada, to sell that in Newfoundland, and to settle on Cape Breton, to the great detriment of our fishing-trade, and to the manifest danger of all our plantations in North America?

XXI. 'That you concur in giving the King
' such sums as shall be thought necessary for enab-
' ling his majesty to defend the nation; to support
' and retrieve our Trade, and to keep the balance
' of Europe, which is threatened with a new war,
' by the intrigues of our common enemies."

THE Parliament of Great-Britain met at Westminster on Thursday the 17th March 1715; and his majesty being seated on the throne with the usual solemnities, the Commons were directed to return to their house and chuse their Speaker, and to present him to his majesty on Monday following. Accordingly they returned, and unanimously chose the honorable Spencer Compton, Esq. a gentleman of great abilities, experience, and integrity; and on the 21st presented him to his majesty, who approved of their choice; and thereafter was pleased to declare from the throne 'that he had ordered the lord chancellor to declare the causes of calling this parliament;' and at the same time he delivered a speech to the lord chancellor, who read it to both houses of Parliament. This being his majesty's first speech to his parliament, and, beside the discoveries therein made, so full of affection to his people, it may not be improper to insert it.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen, This being the first opportunity that I have had of meeting my

respecting the late Tory-ministry.

people in parliament, since it pleased Almighty God, of his good Providence, to call me to the throne of my ancestors, I most gladly make use of it to thank my faithful and loving subjects, for that zeal and firmness that hath been shewn in defence of the Protestant Succession, against all the open and secret practices that have been used to defeat it; and I shall never forget the obligations I have to those who have distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

“It were to be wished, that the unparalleled successes of a war, which was so wisely and cheerfully supported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion; but it is with concern I must tell you, that some conditions, even of this peace, essential to the security and trade of Great-Britain, are not yet duly executed; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we shall have formed defensive alliances to guarantee the present treaties.

“The Chevalier, who resides still in Lorrain, threatens to disturb us, and boasts of the assistance which he still expects here, to repair his former disappointments.

“A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable; this, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

“The public debts are very great, and surpris-

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ingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms. My first care was to prevent a further increase of these debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ships, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expence.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I rely upon you for such supplies as the present circumstances of affairs require for this year’s service, and for the support of the public faith. The estimates shall be laid before you, that you may consider of them; and what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think sufficient for mine.

“ I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the credit of the nation, than a strict observance of all Parliamentary engagements.

“ The branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, are so far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain, and have been granted to me, will fall much short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: and since it is my happiness (as I am confident you will think it yours) to see a Prince of Wales, who may, in due time, succeed me on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children, the best and most valuable pledges of our care and concern for your prosperity; this must occasion an

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experience to which the nation has not of many years been accustomed; but such as surely no man will grudge: and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reason to hope from you.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen, the eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue of this first session. Let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home, divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country. Let no wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of my subjects. The established constitution in Church and State shall be the rule of my government; the happiness, ease, and prosperity of my people, shall be the chief care of my life. Those who assist me in carrying on these measures, I shall always esteem my best friends; and I doubt not but that I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive me of that blessing, which I most value, *the affection of my people.*”

His majesty had reason to take notice of the Chevalier's threats to disturb us, and his boasting of the assistance he still expects here, in his majesty's dominions, to repair his former disappointments: for now the spirit of rebellion that had been secretly working ever since his majesty's happy accession to the crown, (and had been now and then making some appearances in the tumultuous and riotous mobs) discovered itself more openly;

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and particularly in Ireland, where the Chevalier's friends were inlisting men for his service : and on the very same day that the parliament met, one Mr Carol, formerly a brewer in Dublin, was tried there for inlisting men, as aforesaid, and being found guilty of high treason, was sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. The day before, other five men had been tried there for the same crime, found guilty, and sentenced accordingly ; as were some others in a few days after.

As soon as the king retired, the house resolved on an address of thanks to his majesty, and appointed a committee to draw it up ; who reported the same, next day, to the house. In which address, amongst other things, they thank his majesty for his most gracious speech, and the assurances he had given them, that the established constitution in Church and State shall be the rule of his government ; and for so just and tender a concern for their not having obtained those advantages by the peace, which would have been a suitable conclusion to so glorious and successful a war. They assure his majesty that they met together with hearts deeply sensible of the goodness of divine Providence to us, in bringing his majesty with safety, and at so critical a juncture, to the throne of his ancestors ; that they are affected with wonder, as well as with a just resentment, that a Pretender to his majesty's crown should be per-

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mitted to reside so near his dominions, especially after his public boasting of an assistance he expects here; and his avowing a design to invade this kingdom; that they are but too sensible that their trade is rendered impracticable, in the most valuable branches of it; and of the ill effects it must have upon our manufactures and navigation; assuring his majesty, that nothing shall be wanting on their part, that may any ways conduce to the retrieving it: and do not doubt, but that his majesty, assisted by this parliament, zealous for his government, and the safety and honour of their country, may be able to take such further measures, as will secure what is due to us by treaties; ease our debts, preserve the public credit, restore our trade, extinguish the very hopes of the Chevalier, and recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts; the loss of which, they hope to convince the world by their actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general, &c.

This address being read, there arose a warm debate in the house, chiefly about these words, 'recover the reputation of this kingdom, &c.' Those who had been concerned in the late management, and their friends, alledged 'that this clause was injurious to the late queen's memory; and that it was unjust to condemn persons, without first hearing them.' Lord Bolingbroke, in particular, was very hot on this subject, and moved that the words

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recover, &c. might be softened into those of *maintain* the reputation of this kingdom; and that the rest of the paragraph might be left out. But it was answered by the other side, 'that they had all due respect for the late queen's memory, but could not approve the management of her ministry; that they did not condemn any particular person, but only the Peace in general, because they felt the ill consequences of it; that they who advised and made such a peace, deserved to be censured; but that the words in the address being general, no private person could be affected by them.' Thereafter, the question being put, the Address carried by a great majority; and was next day presented to the king, who returned this answer: 'My lords, I thank you heartily for this address: Your duty and loyalty to me can never be better expressed, than by shewing a just concern for the reputation and interest of the nation, since I have no other thought or view, but to promote the prosperity and happiness of my people.'

The same day, (March 23d, 1715) the house of Commons resolved on an address of thanks to the king, conformable to the several heads of his majesty's speech, and a committee was appointed to draw up the same. Accordingly they agreed upon a very loyal and zealous address, much of the same import with that of the Peers; but every way fuller. They told his majesty, 'they were under as-

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tonishment to find, that any conditions of the late peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, should not be yet duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances, as might have rendered that peace not precarious. And as no care shall be wanting in your loyal Commons to inquire into these fatal miscarriages, so we entirely rely on your majesty's wisdom, to enter into such alliances as you shall judge necessary to preserve the peace of Europe; and we faithfully promise to enable your majesty to make good all such engagements. It is with just resentment we observe, that the Chevalier still resides in Lorrain, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion: But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great-Britain. It shall be our business to trace out these measures whereon he placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment, &c.*

The address being read, the late court-party here, as well as in the upper house, insisted 'that the condemning the peace, and censuring the late ministry, was a reflection on the late queen, whose act the peace was; and that reflecting on the late queen could not be agreeable to his present majesty.' But they were answered by Messrs Walpole,

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and Stanhope, 'that nothing was farther from their intentions than to asperse the late queen; that they rather designed to vindicate her memory, by exposing and punishing those evil counsellors, who deluded her into pernicious measures; whereas the opposite party endeavoured to screen and justify those counsellors, by throwing on the memory of her late majesty all the *odium* of their evil counsels.' As to what was objected, that the censuring the late ministers, without a hearing, and condemning the peace without examining into particulars, was unjust and unprecedented, it was answered, 'that they might, in equity and justice, censure the ministers, and condemn the peace in general, because the whole nation is sensible that their honour and true interest were given up by the peace. That in due time they would call them to an account who made and advised such a peace; but God forbid they should ever condemn any person unheard. And Mr Stanhope assured the house, that notwithstanding all the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the Secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the Helm. That those matters would be laid before the house; and it would appear, that a certain English gener-

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al had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Mareschal Villars.'

After the debate was ended, the question was put, and the address was carried by a great majority. And on the 25th, the house, in a body, presented it to his majesty, who returned the following answer: 'Gentlemen, I thank you for the many kind assurances you have given me in your dutiful and loyal address. No endeavour shall be wanting on my part, to promote your true interest, and endear myself to all my people; and I will depend on your zeal and affection to defeat all evil designs that may tend to disquiet the minds of my people, and disturb the tranquillity of my government.'

Though the viscount of Bolingbroke, with the rest of the late Tory ministry, had hitherto affected to appear unconcerned, yet now understanding that the parliament designed to make an impartial inquiry into the conduct of those who had been at the helm of affairs the last four years of the preceding reign, and being conscious of his traiterous practices against the Protestant Succession, and the liberties of his country, he bethought of an asylum for his future safety; and, being apprized that on the 25th of March Mr Prior arrived from France, and would certainly discover all he knew, the viscount went off, in disguise, to Dover, as a servant of la Vigne, one of the French king's mes-

sengers, where he embarked for France, on Sunday 27th, and landed that same day at Calais.

When he embarked at Dover, he left a letter directed to a friend, wherein he endeavoured to justify his sudden departure from his native country; pretending that he had certain and repeated information, by such as were in the secret of affairs, "That a resolution was taken, by those who have power to execute it, to pursue him to the scaffold; that his blood was to be the cement of a new alliance: alledging, that he was already prejudged without a hearing," (tho' it is plain from his flight, that he durst not abide one) with other reproaches against the government. This letter, as soon as it was publicly known that he was gone to France, was handed about in manuscript, and, soon after, appeared in print. The generality of the Tories owned it to be true and genuine; the high-church priests admired it, and loudly declared his innocence; but others believed it to be only a contrivance of some of their leaders to asperse the ministry, and to keep up the spirits of the sinking party.

On the last of March, the Commons resolved to address the king, That he would be pleased to lay before them, all powers, instructions, letters, and papers, relative to the late negotiations of Peace and Commerce, and to the cessation of arms, and demolition of Dunkirk; with the representations

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and memorials from the Russia, South Sea, and Turkey Companies; of the merchants trading to Spain, and the West Indies, &c.

The Tories perceiving by these addresses, that the parliament was designed to make an impartial inquiry into the conduct and mismanagements of the late Tory ministry, they were highly enraged at their procedure, and no less at his majesty; who, in his proclamation of the 15th January, for summoning this parliament, had said, 'We were very much concerned, on our accession to the crown, to find the public affairs of our kingdom under the greatest difficulties, as well in respect of our trade and the interruption of our navigation, as of the great debts of the nation; which, we were surprised to observe, had been very much increased since the conclusion of the last war. We do not therefore doubt that if the ensuing elections shall be made by our loving subjects, with that safety and freedom which by law they are entitled to, and which We are firmly resolved to maintain to them, they will send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of our kingdoms, and the ease of our people for the future; and therein will have a particular regard to such as shewed a firmness to the Protestant Succession when it was in danger.' And, therefore, on the 5th of April, when the Commons took the said

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proclamation into their consideration, and the same was read, Sir William Whitlock, member for the University of Oxford, made exceptions against it, as unprecedented and unwarrantable; but, being called upon to explain himself, he made an excuse for what he had said. Yet, notwithstanding, Sir William Wyndham (afterwards found in the rebellious conspiracy) said, that the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments; but being often called to justify his charge, he obstinately declined it: whereupon the house, after a long debate, ordered Sir William, for his said offence, to be reprimanded in his place, by Mr Speaker; which was accordingly done next morning, to the great mortification of all his friends, who, to the number of 129, had withdrawn with him, while the house were appointing his censure. But to return:

The several addresses were accordingly presented to his Majesty; and on the 9th of April, Mr Secretary Stanhope, pursuant thereto, presented to the house the foresaid powers, instructions, memorials, letters and papers, relating to the said negotiation of Peace and Commerce, and to the cessation of arms; which he delivered in at the table, in twelve volumes, bound up and numbered, and three other small books. At the same time he moved, 'that those papers being too many and too

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voluminous to be perused and examined by all the members, they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report the same, with their observations thereupon, to the house.' None opposed Mr Stanhope's motion, only a member objected to the number of twenty, and moved that one more might be added, which being readily agreed to, it was resolved, That the books and papers before-mentioned, be referred to a committee; that the said committee be a Committee of Secresy; that the number of the said committee be twenty-one, to be chosen by way of ballot, on Monday following; which was accordingly done, and the persons chosen were, Sir Richard Onslow bart. Robert Walpole, Spencer Cowper, James Stanhope, Hugh Boscawen, William Pultaney, Nicholas Lechmere, John Aislaby, Thomas Vernon of Worchester, George Baillie of Jerviswood, Thomas Erle, Esqrs.; Daniel, Lord Finch; Algon, Earl of Hertford; Edward Wortley Montague; Sir David Dalrymple of Hales, bart.; Sir Joseph Jekyll, kt.; Sir Robert Marsham, bart.; Richard Hampden, Alexander Denton, Thomas Pitt, sen. Esqrs.; and Thomas, Lord Coningsby.

Thereafter, it was ordered, 'that the books and papers in custody of the clerk, be delivered to the said committee; and that they do examine the same, and report to the House what they found ma-

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terial in them ; and that they, or any five of them, should meet that afternoon, and sit *de die in diem* with power to send for persons, papers, and records, as they should find it necessary.

That evening the Committee of Secresy met, according to order, and chose Mr Walpole for their chairman ; and next day, for dispatch, subdivided themselves into three committees, and allotted to each a certain number of books and papers. That same day, 14th of April, Mr Secretary Stanhope presented to the house of Commons, memorials and papers of the proceedings relating to the demolition of Dunkirk ; and an account of the proceedings at the courts of the South-Sea Company, relating to the Assiento and South-Sea Trade ; which were referred to the Committee of Secresy. Then the House adjourned for ten days, and it was ordered, that the said committee have leave to sit during the adjournment. The report of this committee, which was made to the house about two months after, gave occasion for their procedure against the late Tory ministry.

The chief subject of this inquiry being the treaty of peace with France, the Tories not only defended it, but became so insolent, as to threaten the Legislature with mobs, if they called the managers of it to account. Soon after, they gave a further discovery of their wicked disposition : for, on

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Saturday the 28d of April, they excited the high-church mobs, who, pretending to observe the anniversary of queen Anne's coronation, took occasion to make a tumult in London, where they displayed a flag, beat their drum, broke windows, wounded some loyal and religious persons, with flint-stones of a considerable weight, and other instruments they had prepared on purpose; stopped coaches to extort money from passengers; insulted such as were passing through the streets about their lawful occasions; and robbed them of their hats, wigs, and several other things; buffeted and threatened them with further mischief, if they would not huzza, 'God bless the Queen and high-church.'

They likewise expressed themselves in a base and traitorous manner against the king; and to shew their rage at the memory of the late king William, they burnt his effigy in one of their bonfires; and at the same time drank health to Bolingbroke; and also to doctor Sacheverel, who had a prime hand in raising and encouraging these rebellious tumults.

It is very observable, says one, 'that this being St. George's day, the Jacobite faction were so wicked, as, under colour of testifying respect to the memory of the late queen Anne, to lay hold on that opportunity to express their affection to the Chevalier, the St. Germans Pretender, who assumes

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the name of that famed Cappadocian Knight, St. George; though every one knows that he has nothing of the valour, courage, and other bright qualities ascribed to that saint, for which the kings of England, during their wars, did obuse him, according to the Popish times, to be the patron of their nation.

It is not to be forgot, that the mob, at this time, threatened, that on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the birth and restoration of king Charles II. they would burn the effigies of several persons, most dear to all true Protestants; and particularly those of Luther and Calvin, the two great reformers of this part of the world, from Popery; which plainly discovers their enmity at the reformation; that the church they set up for, was the church of Rome; and that they would join in communion with her, could they once get their darling mounted on the throne; who having been bred up from his infancy in the same bloody religion, and maxims of state, with Louis XIV. would either compel all true British Protestants, of whatever persuasion, to renounce their religion, and turn Papists; or persecute them with the utmost severity, and such barbarous cruelties, as were inflicted by that king on his Protestant subjects, although they were the persons that brought him to that throne; as plainly appears from the histories of France.

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I have subjoined, as an instance, the declaration published by the said French king, and registered in the parliament of Bourdeaux, on the 28th of March, 1715, while many professed Protestants here in Britain, were setting up for his interest, and willing to submit themselves to a king of his principles, the tenor whereof follows :

“ LOUIS, &c. To all those who shall see these presents, greeting. Since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, we have omitted nothing that depended on us, to recover from the errors of the pretended reformed religion, those of our subjects who were born in it, and to procure the education of their children in the true faith ; and we have had the satisfaction to see, by the great numbers who have made abjuration of that religion, that God has blessed our pious intentions : But, nevertheless, upon information that some, after being converted, refused, when at the point of death, to receive the sacraments, and died with a declaration that they persisted in the pretended reformed religion, shewing thereby that they had again fallen into their former errors ; We ordained, by our declaration of April 29th, 1686, That in such cases their memories should be prosecuted ; and prescribed to our Judges the way how they should punish such a crime, and the penalties which we thought fit to be pronounced against the culpable : We understand, nevertheless, that such abjurations being frequently made in provinces far from those where our said subjects die, or, by so many at a time, that it was not possible to keep exact registers of them, by which our Judges, to whom these relapsers are accused, find it difficult to condemn them according to the terms of our said declaration of April 29th, 1686, for want of proofs of their having abjured ; and for-as-much as the continuance of those who have been of the pretended reformed re-

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"ligion, or were born of such parents, in our kingdom, since we
 "have entirely abolished the exercise of that religion theren, is
 "more than sufficient proof that they have embraced the Catho-
 "lick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, without which they
 "would not have been suffered or tolerated; being willing to
 "signify our intentions, for these causes and others us thereun-
 "to moving, We hereby interpret, as far as it is needful, our
 "said declaration; and add thereunto, that we have said, declar-
 "ed, and ordained, and by these presents, do say, declare, and
 "ordain, and it is our will and pleasure, that all our subjects
 "born of parents who were of the pretended reformed religion,
 "before or since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, who, dur-
 "ing their sickness shall refuse the sacraments of the church
 "from curates, vicars, and other priests, and declare that they
 "will persist and die in the pretended reformed religion, shall,
 "whether they have abjured or not, or the proofs of it be pro-
 "duced or not, be esteemed relapsers, and subject to the pe-
 "nalties pronounced by our said declaration of the 27th April,
 "1686, which further we will and command shall be put in
 "execution according to its form and tenor, &c. So we give
 "command to all our loving and faithful Ministers, holding
 "our Court of Parliament at Bourdeaux, that they register
 "these presents, and put them in execution, and cause
 "them to be executed, kept, and observed, according to
 "their form and tenor, notwithstanding all edicts, declara-
 "tions or other things to be contrary. For such is our
 "pleasure. In witness thereof, we have caused our Seal to
 "be put. Given at Versailles, the 8th day of March, in
 "the year of Grace, 1715, and of our reign the seventy-se-
 "cond."

This declaration was occasioned by the extraor-
 dinary proceedings of the Parliament of Bour-
 deaux, a little before, against the remains of the

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poor Protestants in France, called the new Converts, who had been forced by his barbarous persecution to dissemble their religion; however, some of them when dying, declared themselves still to be Protestants, and would not suffer the priests to come near them. Among others, one Monsieur Jourgniac, a gentleman of considerable fortune at Bourdeaux, having died in September of the preceding year, declared on his death-bed to his parish priest, That he had hitherto been a Protestant in his heart, and dyed one, beseeching God to forgive him the dissimulation of his true sentiments. The Parliament being informed of this, ordered, 'That his memory should be extinguished and branded as infamous; that half of his estate should be forfeited to the King, and the costs of procedure levied on the other half.' They also, about this time, issued an arrest to prevent the burying of the new Converts in private places, and ordered their nearest neighbours, or relations, on pain of an arbitrary fine and costs of suit, to give notice of their illness and decease; also, if they died, refusing the sacrament, their relations or neighbours should make a declaration of it to a Judge, on pain of 1500 livres; the corpse of the deceased was not to have the privilege of burial. Besides, all the Syndics of communities and corporations of tradesmen were summoned to state what persons among them were Protestants, and to oblige them to make public profession of the Romish religion, on pain of

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losing their offices and employments. During their sickness, if they did not call a Romish priest, their goods were to be confiscated, and when dead, their corpse was to remain unburied, exposed to the fowl of the air, and beasts of the field.

These things are deemed necessary to be mentioned as instances of the cruelties which the King of France exercised against his Protestant subjects, who, being his only real friends, deserved better treatment from him; these instances must convince every unprejudiced man, that, should a Popish Prince, such as the Chevalier, be placed on the British throne, no sincere Protestant could rationally expect the toleration of his religious sentiments.

The Jacobite Association, which had been very active since the conclusion of the peace, and particularly since the King's arrival, was now joined by so many professed Papists, and High Church Protestants, that they considered the execution of their design easy, which was to destroy our legitimate Sovereign, King George, and the Royal family, upon the arrival of the Chevalier in Britain. A certain Scottish Peer, delegated, after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, to manage their affairs in France and Lorrain, came to London about the end of February, and in five days reached Ettrick. His arrival was unexpected by his relations, and caused his Majesty's friends to suspect, as the event has proved, that he came to negotiate the Cheva-

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er's affairs in the South of Scotland, and sow the seeds of discord. The meetings of the Association were now more frequent and public than hitherto; excellent horses, saddles, shoes, and other accoutrements, were provided at high prices, with all possible diligence, during the summer. That they intended to equip troops of cavalry with these was manifest from the unusually great quantity of horses and the uniformity of the cavalry equipments which many Popish and Jacobite gentlemen purchased. These caused them to be suspected, and the event proved that the suspicion was not groundless. No precautionary measures for the safety of the government could be taken, at least in Dumfries-shire, because many of the Justices nominated by the late Queen, and who had taken the qualifying oaths in September, were involved in this conspiracy; and since his Majesty's accession, no loyal Justices had been nominated.

In a similar manner the Jacobites in the Highlands were making the necessary provisions for perpetrating the same unlawful design. Three boxes of arms belonging to a Highland chieftain, were seized at Glasgow, through the vigilance of the Provost; and some arms were discovered at Inverlochy, by Sir Robert Pollock, governor of Fort William.

The English Jacobites though not quite prepared, yet conscious that the Committee of Secresy, who had almost finished their inquiry, would shortly

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expose the unlawful actions of the late Administrators, made their appearance chiefly by the High Church mobs, whom they excited and countenanced that they might embarrass the government, injure the Protestant dissenters, stimulate their friends abroad to assist them, and screen the Tory ministry from justice, by interrupting the proceedings of Parliament.

On Saturday, the 28th of May, a company of noblemen and gentlemen warmly attached to the King and Constitution, resident in and about Oxford, met there to celebrate the anniversary of his Majesty's birth. A mob, composed for the most part of gown-men belonging to the University, and their dependants, assembled in the streets, among whom the Jacobites busily circulated a rumour of their own invention,—that the Whigs had designed to burn the late Queen, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Bolingbroke, the Pope, the Doctor, and the Devil in effigy. This ludicrous story had the desired effect—the mob rioted in every part of the city, broke windows, pillaged houses, causing great trepidation in the inhabitants. The Whigs, who held their meeting in the King's Head inn, perceiving these disorders, went out trying to undeceive them, but when perceived they were assailed with missile weapons, bludgeons, &c. wounded in the most cruel manner, and a well-affected young nobleman nearly murdered. To preserve their lives

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they secretly withdrew. Disappointed in their design of murdering the Whigs, the Tories, who were convened in two several taverns, came forth, and having joined the mob, vented their spleen by pulling down the Presbyterian meeting house. Dragging forth the windows, pulpit, pews, &c. they made a bon-fire, in which they burnt the effigy of Mr Roby, the Presbyterian minister. Those rioters who were not engaged in this scene were, meanwhile, running about the streets, to search for the Whigs, bawling out, 'an Ormond, an Ormond, a Bolingbroke, down with the Rown-heads, no Constitutioners, no Hanover, a new Restoration.'

The riot lasted till mid-night, when the mob dispersed. The night following, being the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles II. they again assembled to complete the mischief which they had not time to perpetrate on the previous day. And that it might not yet appear that their malice was chiefly directed against the Presbyterians, they, this night, destroyed the meeting-houses of the Anabaptists and Quakers. They boasted, also, what they would do on the anniversary of the Chevalier's birth-day.

The Jacobites in London, on the anniversary of the Chevalier's birth, kept it with great solemnity. Their mobs in the city broke the windows of such houses as were not illuminated, and among others

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those of the Lord Mayor. Their watch-words were High Church and the Duke of Ormond. In Smithfield there was one of the greatest mobs that has been known since Sacheverel's trial, where they burnt a print of King William, &c.. This riot being unexpected, there was not force enough at hand to suppress it immediately, at last, some worthy citizens and constables quelled them, when they came to Cheapside, and about thirty of the mutineers were secured, and committed to the Compter and other prisons. The same evening one Bournpis, a French or Irish schoolmaster, was, by Sir Charles Peers, committed to Newgate, for high treason, by shouting in the streets, that King George had no right to the crown. He was afterwards tried for it, and whipped through the city, according to sentence. He died in a few days. It appeared that he was a Popish priest, and taught French as a deception.

However, his Majesty's birth-day was kept with great solemnity in all the considerable towns in Britain, particularly in Scotland, where the Jacobites had not the courage to make any disturbance. Nay, even at Dundee, though the Jacobite magistrates, who were under the influence of two of the Episcopal clergy, who would never pray for King George, had on the 27th of May, by beat of drum and open proclamation, discharged the inhabitants to appear in the streets with arms the

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next day, on pain of forty pounds Scots each; yet the honest Presbyterian people in town, resolved to testify their respect to his Majesty; therefore, to avoid the penalty, went to the house of Didhop, without the precincts of the town, where drawing up in arms, they drank his Majesty's health, and gave several other loyal and constitutional toasts, accompanied by several volleys of small shot. Having thus testified their joy on this occasion, they returned to the town without any disorder; to the great mortification of the Jacobite magistrates. But these magistrates reserved the demonstrations of their joy for the next day, which, being the anniversary of the Restoration of King Charles, they celebrated with great solemnity.

It is very remarkable, that as the Jacobite faction had formed a rebellious design, and were now begun to put it in execution, in so far as they had raised the mobs to disturb the public peace, and encouraged them with assurances of a foreign aid, as we shall afterwards hear; therefore, their friends in Parliament used all possible endeavours to have the nation left destitute of a suitable force to oppose them as will appear by the following instance:—On the 30th of May, 1716, the House of Peers, in a Grand Committee, considered the *Bill for regulating the Land Forces*; when a violent debate arose concerning a clause for con-

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fining the several regiments to those parts of his Majesty's dominions for which they were allotted. As, for instance, the twelve thousand men that are on the Irish establishment, to Ireland, &c. Many of the Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, composing what was called the Church party, spoke for the said clause; but the Duke of Marlborough, and some other Lords, shewed the fatal consequences of which it would be productive, in case of an invasion from abroad, or an insurrection at home; the number of the enemy's forces would, in almost every case, surpass the forces on the spot for resisting the invasion. The Whig Lords urged, in reply, 'That his Majesty having trusted his Royal person and family entirely in the hands of the nation; and at the opening of this Session, told the Parliament, That what they should judge necessary for their safety, he should think sufficient for his own; the least they could do for his Majesty was to leave to his great wisdom and discretion the disposal of the few troops that were kept on foot.' This was carried, at length, by a great majority, and the Bill, with some amendments, approved and ordered to be sent down to the Commons.

This Bill was accordingly sent to the Commons, on the 1st of June, and the amendments made by their Lordships were agreed to. Mr Shippen, formerly one of the Commissioners of Public Ac-

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counts, in a speech he delivered during the debate, insinuated that the Ministry designed to set up a Standing Army, and that the Secret Committee, notwithstanding all the clamour, would end in *smoke*. Mr Boscawen, Comptroller of his Majesty's household, replied, that 'he could not forbear taking notice of the insolence of a set of men, who having committed the blackest crimes, had still the audacity to brave the justice of the nation; but that he hoped those crimes would not long remain unpunished. The Committee of Secresy were ready to make their Report, and had directed their Chairman to move the House, that a day might be appointed for receiying it; and that, in the mean time, he could venture to assure the House, that they found sufficient matter to impeach several Peers and Commoners of high treason.' Mr Walpole said, 'that he wanted words to express the villany of the last Frenchified ministry.' General Stanhope succeeded, remarking 'as unaccountable, that men guilty of such enormities, had still the audacity to appear in public.'

As Mr Boscawen had hinted, Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the House, from the Committee of Secresy, 'that they had examined the books and papers referred to them, which contained matters of the greatest importance to the country; that the Committee had directed him to move,

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that a day might be appointed for receiving their Report.' It was ordered, that the Report be received on that day se'nnight, and that all the Members be summoned to attend.

The apprehensions of that momentous day rather incensed than terrified the obstinate Tory faction. On the 4th of June, two men were committed to the Gate-house of Westminster, for toasting the health of the Duke of Ormond, and vilifying the Committee of Secresy; they were, however, admitted to bail. Also, on the 8th, after dusk, a paper favourable to the Chevalier was secretly stuck on the wall in Westminster.

On the 9th, Mr Walpole, from the Committee of Secresy, acquainted the House, ' that he had a Report to present, agreeable to their order, containing matters of very great moment; that although the Committee had power to send for persons, papers, and records, they did not deem it expedient to exercise this power, conceiving it necessary to secure the individuals implicated before they divulged their proceedings. For this end he was desired by the Committee to move, that warrants be issued by Mr Speaker to apprehend certain persons whom the Chairman should name; and that no member be permitted to leave the House.' The motion was thus stated:—' 1st, That the lobby be cleared of all strangers, the doors of the Speaker's chamber locked, the

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keys brought and laid on the table; and that the Serjeant do stand at the door of the House, and permit no member to leave it. 2d, That Mr Speaker do issue his warrant to the Serjeant to take into his custody such persons as shall be named by the Committee of Secresy, in order to their being examined before them.' The Speaker accordingly issued warrants to take into custody several persons named by Mr Walpole, in particular, Mr Mathew Prior, and Mr Thomas Harley; the former was immediately apprehended, and the latter a few hours afterwards.

Mr Walpole then rose and informed the House, 'that the Committee of Secresy had examined the books and papers referred to them, and had drawn up a report, which he had been desired to deliver. It occupied two volumes, one of which contained the Report, and the other an Appendix, having those letters and papers which were referred to in the Report.' The Report was then read and laid on the table, with the Appendix and books referred to by the Committee. The reading occupied five hours, after which, a motion was made and supported by the friends of the late Ministry, 'that the further consideration of it be adjourned to the next morning.' This was, however, negatived by a great majority, and 'the Report ordered to be read again.' The Clerk of the House having read to half-past eight o'clock, P. M.

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the further consideration of it was adjourned to the next morning; when the Report was finished, and the consideration of it resumed.

This Report laid open such a series of complicated villanies perpetrated by the late Tory ministry, that none of those concerned dared to defend themselves. From the Report, and Her Majesty Queen Anne's speeches and messages to the Parliament, especially during the late negotiation for peace, it appears that her Tory ministry had caused her to be guilty of many inconsistencies, and to deceive her Parliament by notorious falsehoods. These, however, will be seen in the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against them in Parliament.

Sir T. Hanmer, the Report being read, moved 'that the consideration of it be adjourned till Monday se'nnight, and was supported by the leading Tories, one of whom also moved, 'that the Report be printed, for the perusal of all the Members of the House.' Mr Walpole, in reply, said, 'he marvelled that those Gentlemen who had evinced such impatience to have the Report laid before the House, should now press for adjourning the consideration of it. That as for the Committee of Secrecy, as they had not gone through all the branches of their inquiry, they wished longer time to peruse and digest several important papers. For this purpose they would

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have deferred laying the Report before the House three weeks or a month; but some Gentlemen having reflected on the slowness of the Committee, they now presented it, and the House would require to begin the consideration of it.' General Stanhope said, 'that he would give these Gentlemen all the time they asked, but they themselves having precipitated the Report, he thought they ought to prosecute the consideration of it without delay, lest they might confirm the suspicion, industriously circulated by the friends of the late ministry—that the report of the Committee of Secrecy would vanish in smoke. Groundless rumours, similar to this, had raised the spirits and insolence of the disaffected, and were the principal causes of the ferment among the giddy multitude. He cordially agreed with the member who had moved for the printing of the Report, that by it not only the House but the whole world might be convinced of the impartiality of their proceedings. But the crimes of some individuals mentioned in the Report, were so obvious to all, that he thought the House should begin immediately to the impeachment of them.'

The Tories still endeavoured to defer it, by supporting Sir T. Hanmer's motion for the adjournment of the debate; but the Whigs powerful and staunch against every motion for delay, negatived it by a great majority. Mr Walpole

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then rose and said, ' he doubted not, that having now heard the Report twice read, the House was fully convinced that Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke was guilty of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours. He, therefore, impeached him of these crimes. If any member had any thing to say in his behalf, the House was ready to hear him.'

Mr Hungerford alledged, that ' nothing was mentioned in the Report relative to Lord Bolingbroke, which amounted to high treason.' He was unsupported in this opinion, and Mr Walpole's motion for impeachment passed.

Lord Coningsby then said, ' the worthy chairman of the Committee has impeached the *hand*, I impeach the *head*,—he has impeached the clerk, I impeach the Justice,—he has impeached the scholar, and I the master.' He accordingly impeached Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours.' Mr Auditor Harley endeavoured to justify his brother, ' as having only executed the immediate commands of Queen Anne; urging that the peace was beneficial to the country, and approved by two parliaments; and concluded by endeavouring to shew that the facts mentioned in the Report, and for which the Earl was impeached, did not amount to high treason, but only to misdemeanours.' Mr Foley, the Earl's

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brother-in-law, coincided with Mr Harley, complaining of 'the Earl's hardship in being charged with high treason, before the House had individually examined the Report.' Sir Joseph Jekyll, one of the Committee of Secresy, said, 'he doubted whether they had either sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the Earl of Oxford.' But another member of the Committee assured the House, that 'besides what had appeared before them, contained in the Report, they had other evidence *viva voce*.' It was, therefore, resolved, 'to impeach Robert Earl of Oxford, of high treason,' &c. and ordered, that 'the Committee of Secresy draw up the Articles of Impeachment, and prepare evidence against him and Lord Bolingbroke.' The further consideration of the Report was adjourned to that day se'nnight; and the Report, with the Appendix, ordered to be printed.

On the 15th of June, Mr Walpole, from the Committee of Secresy, acquainted the House, that 'he was directed to move, that the persons taken into custody on the 9th inst. by their order, be examined in the accustomed manner, agreeable to former precedents.' It was accordingly ordered, that 'such members of the Committee as were Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, should examine Matthew Prior and Thomas Harley, Esquires, in the Committee, concerning the matters contained in the several books and pa-

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pers referred to them.' On the 17th, Mr Walpole communicated, 'that, agreeable to their order, Mr Prior had been, on the 16th, examined before the Committee, and during a long examination, matters of such importance appeared, that the Committee had directed him to move, that he be confined in close custody, and no person be permitted to converse with him, without leave from Mr Speaker;' which was accordingly ordered. This order occasioned various rumours: some said that the Earl of Oxford had been in close conference with Mr Prior; and it was believed that the Tories had proffered him a hundred thousand pounds to be silent. However slightly grounded these rumours were, he was now more reserved in answering questions than he had been before, pretending he could not speak till he received a pardon from the King, which the court would not grant him, lest, having obtained it, he might be as evasive in his replies as formerly. Mr Harley was examined after Mr Prior, but alleged that he had only verbal instructions; what letters he had received he burned, and his memory was so bad, he had forgot their contents. The Report of the Committee of Secresy being now printed, copies were delivered to the members of both Houses, and the further consideration thereof adjourned to the 20th of June, to allow time for perusal.

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On the 21st, the Commons having resumed the consideration of the Report, Mr Secretary Stanhope rose and said, 'as a member of the Secret Committee, and of that august Assembly, whose province it was to act for the welfare of the nation, he deemed it his duty to impeach James Duke of Ormond of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours.' This motion was seconded by Mr Boscawen. Many of the Duke's friends spoke in his defence; but, after a long debate, the motion for impeachment was carried by a great majority, and the Committee of Secresy ordered to draw up the Articles, and prepare evidence. *

On the 22d, they further deliberated on the Report, when Mr Aislaby, Treasurer of the Navy, made a motion for the impeachment of Thomas Earl of Stafford, on the following grounds:—'1st, the Earl's advising the fatal suspension of arms, which occasioned the misfortunes that immediately befel the Allies, reducing them to the necessity of submitting to the terms of an unsafe and dishonourable peace. 2d, Advising the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, thereby distressing the Allies, and favouring the enemy. 3d, Insulting and contemptuously treating the most Serene House

* About this time several riots were raised in London, whose rallying cry was 'God save the Duke of Ormond;' these, however, had little influence on the Parliament.

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of Hanover, and their generals and ministers.' Mr Baillie of Jerviswood seconded Mr Aislaby, and Sir William Wyndham and others endeavoured to justify the Earl; but their arguments, nearly similar to those used in defence of the Earl of Oxford, were easily refuted. General Ross having excused the suspension of arms, General Cadogan shewed, 'that by it the Allies lost a favourable opportunity, the best indeed they ever had in Flanders, to destroy the enemy's army, and to penetrate into the very centre of France.' Sir David Dalrymple, with great perspicuity and impartiality, summed up what had been said on both sides, and by illustrating with parallel cases, shewed, that 'both by the civil and statute laws, the Earl of Stafford was guilty at least of high crimes and misdemeanours.' The question was then put, and carried by a majority of 168 votes, for the impeachment of the Earl of Stafford, of high crimes and misdemeanours, and the Committee of Secresy were ordered to prepare the Articles, and collect evidence.

We will now relate, as succinctly as possible, the riots which were excited, and formerly threatened, on the anniversary of the Chevalier's birth day:—the Jacobite faction, from what had been disclosed by several members of the Secret Committee, in the warm debate with Mr Shippen on the 1st of June, foresaw that the Report would con-

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vince Parliament of the treasonable proceedings of Queen Anne's ministry; they, accordingly, did every thing they could do, to screen the offenders from justice, by causing their minions to excite riots in various parts of the nation, intending thereby to alarm the Government. They knew well that the Protestant dissenters in England, and Presbyterians in Scotland, considered their safety as lying in the happy Constitution and government they were then enjoying; unless, therefore, these were extirpated, their design of placing the Chevalier on the throne could not be easily accomplished. To prepare the minds of the populace for this, they unceasingly endeavoured to prejudice the Presbyterians, by asserting that 'they were worse than the Papists, more cruel and bloody in their principles, and consequently more dangerous—that the King and Parliament were all Presbyterians—that the Church of England would be overthrown,' and similarly absurd rumours; that their work of destruction might have the appearance of justice. For these reasons, the Protestant dissenters and Presbyterians were the principal objects against which they vented their malice.

Before mentioning particulars, it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader, that, as in all the riots I have hitherto related, so now, the High Church clergymen were the chief tools of the fac-

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tion, in deluding the people. Their instructions were, to vilify the Protestants. They were warm in their attachment to King George, and for good reason; because he had, by his coronation oath, and in several declarations and speeches, previously recorded, given every assurance of his steady resolution to maintain the true Church of England, and had never invalidated any of his promises. I have transcribed what follows from the work of an ingenuous author, belonging to the communion of the Church of England, whose testimony will, therefore, have the greater weight:—

‘ According to the scheme that was formed, as has been said, by the late ministry, a parcel of perjured shepherds set their silly sheep a madding in several parts of this kingdom (England), by their lewd harangues, wickedly insinuating that the King was going to set up Presbytery: whereupon, contrary to law and gospel, those pretended zealots for the Church of England, fell a pulling down meeting-houses, except mass-houses, as a prelude to their rebellion. But it has since most evidently appeared that these men themselves are the most inveterate enemies the Church of England has; disparaging her by their vile hypocrisy, and being far more dangerous than avowed Papists. Nor must I omit doing the Presbyterians the justice of saying, that not only they and all Protestant dissenters in England, were to a man,

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averse to such abominable practices, and most actively steady for King George; but that without detracting in the least from any of our Generals in Scotland, that country had been in all probability lost, had it not been for the distinguished loyalty, zeal, and courage of the national ministers there, who can never be too much commended.*

This is agreeable to the zealous manifestation of their loyalty which the Presbyterian clergy made, in the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, when these enemies of their country's peace formed a design to interrupt the Protestant succession, and introduce Popery, with its concomitant, slavery, which hath been already shewn. The candid author of the above extract, in another part of the same work, says, 'none can be more zealous for the Protestant cause, nor have been more hearty champions for the Protestant succession, than those of the national Church of Scotland.' This exposed them to the fury of the Papists, and the

* The regular troops in Scotland, when the rebellion arose, were inadequate to the numerous and resolute forces of the enemy. They would not have been able to perform the important service of guarding the passes of the Forth, had not the clergy, with the concurrence of those nobility and gentry who were friendly to the Church of Scotland, stimulated the people to their assistance.

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vengeance of the ministry, as he has stated. The Protestant dissenters in England were similar in their principles to the Church of Scotland; enemies to popery and slavery, and staunch champions for the Protestant religion and succession in his Majesty, King George; for this cause they met with such hard treatment from the Tories, and became the objects of the fury of the High Church mobs, as appears by the following instances:—

On Friday, the 10th of June, the Chevalier's birth-day, mobs were collected at Philips-Norton, Somersetshire, where the bells were rung, and the Chevalier's health drank, by the name of King James the III. The same disgraceful scene was exhibited at Wolverton, where they threatened to go to Beckington, near Froome, in the same county, and pull down the Presbyterian meeting-house, but were dissuaded, being assured that they would meet with a warm reception, if they attempted it. They celebrated the day also at Marlborough, Warrington, and Leeds, by ringing the bells, and shouting, 'no King George, but a Stuart.'

The most considerable riot, on this occasion, was in Manchester:—they assembled on Thursday, and commenced rioting on Friday, continuing till Saturday's night. During the two last days, they destroyed many of the houses of those who were well-affected to His Majesty and the go-

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vernment, and pulled down the Presbyterian meeting-house, leaving nothing entire but the walls. The following week, they went into Yorkshire, demolishing every meeting-house they found. These Lancashire riots continuing till the end of that month (June), wore such a serious aspect, that orders were issued for raising the militia, and Major Wyvil, with two troops of Lord Cobham's regiment, forming a junction with a party of Earl Stairs', succeeded in apprehending some of the rioters, and in dispersing the rest.

About the end of June, a letter from the Duke of Berwick to a person of distinction in England, was intercepted, in which he advises him to 'keep up the spirit of the people, and to encourage the riots and tumults;' and puts him in hopes of having speedy assistance. Although intercepted, its desire was but too effectually accomplished. The magistrates, justices of the peace, and others having influence in the country, being tainted with Jacobitism, secretly encouraged rioting and tumult, which continued throughout the whole summer. Great outrages were committed in Newcastle-under-line; and the Presbyterian meeting-houses were pulled down in Blakely, on the 21st of June; Green Acres and Morton, on the 22d; and Wolverhampton, Bermage, Birmingham, and Wrexham, on the 5th of July;—in Staffordshire, Purton, Dudley, Credley, Stourbridge, Wasel;

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and Oldbury, Warwickshire; and Kingswood, in Shropshire. And many other serious injuries were sustained by the Protestant dissenters in these counties.

Before closing this scene of riot and cruelty, a striking evidence of the implacable malice of the Tories, will be given. They posted up, in many parts of the town of Shrewsbury, the form of a proclamation, which appeared in the public prints from which it was transcribed, as follows:—‘ We gentlemen of the loyal mob of Shrewsbury, issue this proclamation to all dissenters from the Church of England, of whatsoever kind or denomination, whether Independents, Papists, or Quakers. If you or any of you, do encourage or suffer any of that damnable faction called Presbyterians, to assemble themselves amongst you, in any of your conventicles, at the time of divine worship, you may expect to meet with the same that they have been treated with. Given under our hands and seals the 11th day of July, 1715. God save the King.’ They meant the Chevalier.

On the 16th of July, the Commons of Great Britain, informed of the commotions in the county of Stafford, and that several peaceable persons had been assaulted and severely wounded, desired Mr Bailly, a gentleman of that county, who was at the door, to appear and state to the House what he knew respecting them. He accordingly came to

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the bar, and gave them a full and explicit account of the different mobs, the extent of the injury committed, &c. in that county; which statement was authenticated in a letter received thence by a member of the House.

The Commons immediately resolved, 'that a humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to the several magistrates throughout the kingdom to put the laws in speedy and vigorous execution against such persons as may have been in any way concerned in the late rebellious and tumultuous riots, still carrying on in divers parts of the kingdom, by persons disaffected to his Majesty and his government;—that an account be taken of such justices of the peace as have failed in the discharge of their duty on these occasions, that they may forthwith be deprived of their commissions of the peace;—that magistrates who may have, in like manner, failed in the discharge of their duty, be proceeded against according to law;—that an account be taken of losses and injuries sustained by his Majesty's subjects during the late riots, that the sufferers may have full compensation;—and to assure his Majesty that all expense on this account shall be made good when the next supplies are granted by Parliament.' His Majesty was also requested to put the laws against Papists and Non-jurors in effectual execution. A Committee

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was appointed to draw up the address, which was reported on Monday, and, being agreed to, was presented by the House in a body to his Majesty, next day; who promised to comply with the various requests.

The House had, at this time, under their consideration, a bill for 'preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishment of the rioters,' which being past, was agreed to by the Lords on the 20th of July. His Majesty's assent was received on the same day. The following is its tenor:—it is hereby enacted, that if any persons unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assemble together, to the disturbance of the public peace, shall, at any time after the last day of July, 1715, unlawfully, and with force, demolish or pull down, or begin to demolish or pull down, any church or chapel, or any building for religious worship (certified and registered according to the statute made in the first year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary, entituled, An act for exempting their Majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws) or any dwelling-house, barn, stable, or other out-house, that then every such demolishing or pulling down shall be adjudged felony without benefit of clergy,' and, that 'the inhabitants of every town, county, or hundred, where such dam-

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age shall be done, shall be liable to yield compensation to the person or persons injured or damaged, by such demolishing or pulling down, wholly or in part; which was to be recovered in a manner mentioned in the act. It was immediately printed and circulated throughout the kingdom, and by its vigorous execution proved very efficient in restraining and suppressing riots. It was near the end of July before they abated, when, in terms of the act, some of the rioters were capitally executed at Worcester, and other places.

We now return to narrate the zealous proceedings of the Parliament against the late Tory ministry. On the 7th of July, Mr Walpole, from the Committee of Secresy, exhibited several articles of impeachment against the Earl of Oxford, for high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. These articles chiefly relate to the treaty of peace, and are, in effect, that he entered into a traitorous correspondence with the ministers of France, advised a separate treaty of peace, and received proposals for that purpose, without any legal authority; that he assisted the French in disuniting the grand alliance, in manifest violation of the public faith of the nation, thereby ruining the designs of Britain and her confederates, for bringing down the exorbitant power of France, the grand invader of the liberties of Europe, and basely betraying and giving up our trade and

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commerce to France and Spain, particularly our Spanish trade and the fishing in Newfoundland; that he advised the cessation of arms, and got it proclaimed at a time when the articles of peace in relation to Great Britain were not adjusted; that he advised the French ministry, and suggested plans to them for wresting Tournay from the Dutch, to weaken their barrier, contrary to the Queen's instructions; that he yielded up the Spanish monarchy to Philip, contrary to the articles stipulated in the grand alliance, to several addresses of Parliament, and to the Queen's declaration from the throne, in which she declares, 'that no peace could be safe or honourable to Britain, or to Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon;' that he assisted Philip of Spain, with whom we were at war, against the Emperor of Germany, our ally; that he advised her Majesty to that unprecedented act of creating twelve new peers in one day, to the injury of our Constitution and the freedom of Parliaments; that he made the throne, which ought to be the fountain of truth, the fountain of falsehood, by advising her Majesty to declare to Parliament, in answer to an address of the Lords, December 11th, 1711, 'that she would be sorry if any one could think that she would not use her utmost endeavour to recover Spain and the Indies from the House of Bourbon,' while he actually gave them

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to Philip, and acknowledged him as sovereign in the treaty,—and while advising and carrying on a separate peace with France, he advised the Queen to deceive the Parliament, when addressing it on the 17th January, 1711; her Majesty hoped that the world would now see how groundless these reports were, which have been spread abroad by men of evil intentions, to serve the worst designs, as if a separate peace had been negotiated, for which there has not been the least colour given; she also declared to the States General of the United Provinces, that, 'as she had acted in concert with them during the course of the war, she resolved to do so in concluding a peace;' notwithstanding which, they were excluded by a separate treaty. Besides these, other advices of the Earl were adduced, by which the integrity of the throne was violated, and the nation grossly deceived.

Mr Walpole at the same time stated to the House, that the Committee of Secrecy had almost ready other articles against the Earl. The articles stated briefly above being read, were laid on the table, and ordered to be read a second time next morning.

They were accordingly read a second time, and the other articles from the Committee, with amendments, ordered to be engrossed. A clause was also added, giving the Commons liberty to exhibit any further articles against the said Earl, and

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that he might be deprived of his peerage, and committed to safe custody. The Commons next day, the 9th, presented the articles of impeachment to the Lords, and Lord Coningsby was desired to proceed to the impeachment, which he did in the following manner:—

‘**Mr. Lord.**—The Commons assembled in Parliament having received information of various traitorous designs and practices of a peer in this House, Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, have commanded me to impeach him of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours; I hereby impeach in their names, and in the names of all the Commons of Great Britain, Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours. I am further commanded by the House of Commons, to pray and demand of your Lordships, that the Earl of Oxford, &c. may be sequestered from Parliament, and forthwith be committed to safe custody.’

A long debate ensued in the House of Peers, which lasted till one o’clock in the morning, when the Earl was delivered over to the keeping of the Usher of the Black Rod, and being brought to the bar next day, July 11th, he was ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, and competent time allowed to answer the articles exhibited against him.

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The unfortunate expedition to Canada was another ground of complaint against the late ministry, who in the management of it had embezzled much of the public money; and the Committee of Secresy finding that it was fitted out under the direction of the Earl of Oxford, made this the subject of another article against him; adding, 2d, 'that he misapplied £12,000 of the public treasure, having obtained a warrant for so much to John Drummond, Esq. who, upon examination, declared he received the warrant upon the Earl's account, and the Earl afterwards had the said order filled up payable to himself. 3d, That he had sent emissaries abroad, without the concurrence of her Majesty's allies, for the purpose of carrying on separate and dangerous negotiations, whose expenditure was profuse, having obtained credit to draw bills of an unlimited amount, on him, as treasurer, so that £12,860 had, in this manner, been paid to Matthew Prior in France, and £5,560 to Thomas Harley, resident at the Court of Hanover; though Prior was not entitled, from his employment, to a salary which greatly exceeded that of an accredited ambassador—which practice was inconsistent with the Constitution. 4th, That he had advised the payment of £47,000 per annum to the Queen-dowager of James the II. during her life. 5th, That he advised her Majesty to receive Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish papist, (a natural born subject of the

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crown, guilty of high treason, by serving against King William in the late Spanish war), as an ambassador from the Court of Spain; and did negotiate with him most important transactions of the State, in the capacity of a minister of the King of Spain, thereby countenancing the secret emissaries of the Pretender, &c. 6th, That he advised her Majesty to abandon the Catalonians, after repeated assurances of support and protection, amusing and deceiving them with groundless hopes of effectual interposition in their favour, while he advised her Majesty to conclude a peace with the King of Spain, without any security for the just rights, liberties, and privileges of that brave, but unfortunate people; besides, he afterwards advised her Majesty, at a great expense, to send Sir James Wishart with a large squadron of men-of-war to aid the King of Spain in reducing the city of Barcelona, and likewise with instructions to do the same with Majorca.'

On the 30th of July, Mr Walpole, by order of the Secret Committee, exhibited these articles to the House of Commons, where they were read, sanctioned, and ordered to be engrossed. On the 2d of August, they were again read, and Lord Coningsby was appointed to carry them up to the Lords, which he did the same day, and left them with their Lordships, who immediately sent them to the Earl of Oxford in the Tower. His Lord-

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ship could not attend, being painfully afflicted with the gravel, which was certified by his physician; he had, therefore, petitioned that a copy of the articles might be sent to him; and also petitioned that Sir Constantine Phips, Mr Serjeant Darnel, Mr Williams, and Dr Henchman, might be assigned his counsel, which were granted.

The Earl, after petitioning several times for delay, transmitted his defence, by his Solicitor, to the House of Peers, on the 3d September, when it was sent to the Lower House, and by it referred to the Committee of Secresy to prepare a reply. The House of Commons would have deliberated upon it, without reference to the Committee, but from its amazing length, * it would have consumed too much time, and interrupted other business, to have prepared a reply there. The Committee reported, on the 16th September, that they had prepared a reply to the Earl's defence, which they found to be evasive and trifling. Mr Walpole read the Report, which was again read by the clerk, agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed. On the 20th, it was carried up to the Lords, who addressed his Majesty for preparations to be made in Westminster Hall, for the speedy trial of that impeached nobleman. These preparations were delayed on account of the rebellion which, at this

* It occupied six full parchments, and took nearly four hours to read it.

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time, broke out in the north of Scotland, and diverted the attention of Parliament from the Earl's trial.

We shall, before speaking particularly of this sanguinary and unnatural rebellion, briefly mention the procedure of Parliament against the other impeached Peers, and the particular crimes with which they were charged, that the justice of the Parliament may be evident to every impartial reader.

On the 4th of August, the Secret Committee presented to the House articles of impeachment against Lord Bolingbroke, which were read the same day, article by article, agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed; power being retained to exhibit further articles against him when they thought fit. They also petitioned his Majesty that his Lordship be sequestrated from Parliament, and committed to safe custody.

On the 6th, they were read a third time and passed, and presented at the bar of the House of Lords in the usual form, by Mr Walpole, who was also desired by the Commons to impeach before the Peers Henry Viscount of Bolingbroke. Not to tire the reader's patience we will give merely an outline of the articles of impeachment, which were six :—

‘ I. That the said Lord Bolingbroke entered into a most treacherous conspiracy with France, to

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disunite the Confederacy when about to reap the fruits of a succession of triumphs over the common enemy, by maliciously and wickedly negotiating, in the months of July or August, 1711, a separate treaty of peace, destructive to the liberties of Europe, and highly dishonourable to Great Britain, without the concurrence of her Majesty's Allies; and advised her Majesty to send Matthew Prior to the Court of France to carry on the said negotiation for a separate peace; by which the particular interests of Great Britain, as well as the common interest of Europe, were shamefully betrayed, &c.

‘ II. That Lord Bolingbroke, in August or September, 1711, received Monsieur Mesnager as an ambassador from the King of France, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty exclusive of his Majesty's Allies; and afterwards, in violation of his oath and high trust, advised her Majesty to grant powers to several persons for concluding the aforesaid pernicious treaty with France, which was signed by the Earl of Dartmouth and Viscount Bolingbroke, on the 27th of September, by virtue alone of a warrant under her Majesty's sign manual, without the knowledge of the Allies. In which treaty the real interests of Great Britain are relinquished to France, and by acknowledging the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain, the balance of the power and liberties of Europe was placed in the hands of the House of Bourbon.

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‘ III. That Lord Bolingbroke did disclose her Majesty’s instructions delivered to the Earl of Strafford, ambassador to the States General, respecting a general peace, and her Majesty’s sentiments respecting the further prosecution of the war, should the conclusion of a general peace be impracticable; to Sieur Mesnager and M. de Torcy, minister and secretary to the King of France, both enemies to her Majesty.

‘ IV. That Lord Bolingbroke communicated to the Abbot Gualtier, an emissary and agent of the French King, the Queen’s instructions to her plenipotentiaries that were appointed to conclude a general peace with the allies and the King of France; and that he wrote to Monsieur Torcy, informing him that the Abbot Gualtier knew the Queen’s FINAL instructions.

‘ V. That although the Queen, in her instructions of the 23d September, 1711, to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, had expressly directed them to insist with the plenipotentiaries of France, that the town and fortress of Tournay should remain to the States General, as a part of their barrier, and declared herself conformably in her speech to both Houses of Parliament; yet he, the said Lord Bolingbroke, did, in or about the month of September or October, same year, treacherously advise the French King to take the said important town and fortress of Tournay, then in possession

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of the States General, and counsel how the same might be most easily accomplished.

‘ VI. That while an open, bloody, and expensive war was carried on between Queen Anne in conjunction with her good Allies, and the Duke of Anjou, for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria, being engaged by treaty to that effect, and from a just resentment against the said Duke, who then stiled himself King of Spain, and who, in defiance of Queen Anne’s title to the crown of Great Britain, had acknowledged the Chevalier as King, thereby rendering himself and the subjects of Spain enemies to the Queen; the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke did treasonably assist and adhere to the Duke of Anjou, and advised and counselled the enemies of the Queen, and did concert and promote the seizure and surrender of Spain and the West Indies, or some part of them, to the said Duke of Anjou, then in enmity with her Majesty,’ &c.

On the 7th of August, the Committee of Secresy presented articles of impeachment against the Duke of Ormond, who was more strenuously defended than Lord Bolingbroke. Several Commoners withdrew before the votes were collected, not being decided in opinion as to his criminality. The debate turned chiefly on the question, whether he should be impeached for high treason, or merely for high crimes and misdemeanours. It

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was carried by a great majority, however, that he be impeached of high treason. The articles being read a third time and passed, on the 8th, Mr Secretary Stanhope was desired to go to the bar of the House of Peers and impeach the Duke, in the usual form, which he did the same day, and delivered the articles, of which the following is an abstract:—

‘ I. That the said James Duke of Ormond, being appointed General of the British forces in the Netherlands, with orders to prosecute the war against the King of France, in conjunction with our Allies, and having given them the most solemn assurances of fidelity, was admitted into the counsels, and made privy to the secret designs of the generals of the Confederate Army; did, contrary to his duty of allegiance and the statutes of this realm, treacherously aid and adhere to the French King, while at open war with Great Britain, and, about the same time sent private intelligence to Marshal Villars, General of the French army, of a proposed march of the allied army, and of the designs of the army in making this march.

‘ II. That the said Duke of Ormond, to disguise and conceal from her Majesty and the nation, a traitorous design carried on between Henry St John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke, with some other evil-disposed persons, did, by his letter of the 25th May, 1712, to the said Henry St John,

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Principal Secretary of State, impose upon the Queen and Council, by assuring them, that 'if he found an opportunity to bring the enemy to a battle, he should not decline it.' Yet, in his private letter to the said Henry St John, of the same date, designed for him and the conspirators only, he, the said Duke of Ormond, did wickedly promise and engage 'that he would not attack or molest the French army, or engage in any siege against France.'

'III. That whereas the Queen had given her express instructions to the said Duke of Ormond, in conjunction with her Allies, as has been said, to carry on the war against France with all vigour, and by her last order, sent him by a letter from the said Henry St John, about the 7th of June, 1712, had directed him to make no cessation of arms with the French, unless the terms demanded by her, and expressly mentioned in the said letter, should be complied with by France,' &c. Yet, notwithstanding, the said Duke, to assist the French King, 'and in pursuance of a secret promise he had made to Marshal Villars, the French General, treacherously advised and endeavoured to persuade the Generals of the Confederate Army against France, and the Deputies of the States General, about the 25th of June, to raise the siege of Quesnoy, a French town then besieged by them: and refused to act any longer against France, tell-

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ing the Deputies and Generals of the Confederate Army, that he could no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, being obliged, by his instructions, to withdraw the Queen's troops, and those in her Majesty's pay.* He also previously sent a letter to Marshal Villars, informing him of the result of the conferences with the Confederate Generals, the disposition of the foreign troops to adhere to the Confederates, in case of a separation by the troops of Great Britain, &c.

‘IV. That the said Duke of Ormond also falsely and treacherously hinted to the States Deputies and Generals of the Confederate Army, that to raise the siege of Quesnoy was the only effectual way to induce the Queen to take care of their interest at the peace.

‘V. That, in answer to a letter from Marshal Villars, the said Duke of Ormond, on or about the 16th of July, 1712, secretly sent intelligence to Marshal Villars of the number of troops that had left the Confederate Army, and also the march which the Confederate Army had made that morning.’ And that which considerably aggravated this crime was, the declaration in Marshal Villars’ letter—that the reason of his enquiry anent the state of the Confederate Army was, that he might fall upon and attack them.

‘VI. That the Duke of Ormond, having received advice that the States General formed a

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design to take and surprise the towns of Newport and Furnes, or one of them, then in possession of the King of France, he, to aid the common enemy, on the 21st of October, 1712, sent a letter to Viscount Bolingbroke, in which he treacherously and basely suggested to him to advise the Queen to transmit secret intelligence of the aforesaid design to the French General, Marshal Villars, and thereby betray the councils and designs of her good and faithful allies.'

The Lords having considered these articles severally, and those exhibited against Viscount Bolingbroke, immediately ordered him and the Duke of Ormond into the custody of the Black Rod; but both of these nobleman had provided for their safety, by withdrawing to Paris, the former on the 25th of March, and the latter about the 21st of July. The Lords communicated to the House of Commons, August 9th, that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod had that day intimated his inability, after the most diligent search and enquiry, to find Lord Bolingbroke, that he might be taken into custody, according to his order. He made an intimation to the same effect, next day, respecting the Duke of Ormond.

The Commons having received both of these messages immediately attainted these noblemen. Their bills of attainder were brought in, passed in the House of Commons, carried to the House

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of Lords, passed there, and received the Royal assent, on the 20th of August, so zealous were both Houses of Parliament on this occasion.

The bills of attainder allowed these two noblemen competent time, to the 10th of September following, to surrender themselves to justice. On the 14th of that month, the House of Lords were acquainted by the Usher of the Black Rod and the Governor of the Tower, that neither the Duke of Ormond, nor Viscount Bolingbroke, had surrendered themselves within the limited time. They, therefore, ordered, 'that the title of James Duke of Ormond, and Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, be razed from the list of Peers, and that they be degraded according to the usual form, by which the former became James Butler, yeoman, and the latter Henry St John, labourer; besides, the arms of the Duke of Ormond, set up in Windsor chapel, he being a knight champion of the most noble Order of the Garter, were ordered to be taken down by the Earl Marshal and torn in pieces.

On the 30th of August, the Committee of Secresy informed the House of Commons that they had prepared articles of impeachment against Thomas, Earl of Strafford, for high crimes and misdemeanours, which articles being presented to the House, were read and agreed to, and the next day Mr Aislaby was sent up to impeach the Earl

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at the bar of the House of Lords, and delivered, at the same time, the articles of impeachment, of which an epitome was formerly given.

From these articles it appeared that the wicked and perfidious counsels of the Earl of Strafford had impeded the progress of the victorious arms of the Confederates, and caused them to lose a most favourable opportunity for conquering the enemy, by which the Allies lost all confidence in her Majesty, and the French King made absolute master of the negotiations of peace.

The Earl of Strafford made an animated speech in his own defence, and, after a debate of considerable length, was furnished with a copy of the articles of impeachment. He was allowed one month to prepare his reply, and liberty to search the Secretary of State's office for papers. The affairs of the nation requiring that the Parliament should adjourn, the trial of that peer was unavoidably delayed.

Having premised what we deem necessary to the elucidation of the history, we now proceed to narrate the particulars of the Rebellion of this year, 1715, and, on account of the great variety of incidents causing occasional digressions, shall endeavour to follow the order of time as nearly as is consistent with preserving the thread of the history.

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We shall, therefore, **FIRST**, speak of the designed invasion, and the means that were used to prevent it;—and, **SECOND**, of the rise and progress of the Rebellion, to the 10th of October, and the preparations for suppressing it.

The King having received accounts from the Earl of Stair, his resident in France, of the Chevalier's designs, came to the House of Peers, on the 20th of July, and the Commons being sent for, the royal assent was given to the act against riots and tumults. His Majesty, in his speech to both Houses, informed them, 'that he had certain advices, that the Chevalier was making preparations for invading this country, and aided by a restless party in his favour at home. In these circumstances, he thought it proper to ask their assistance, and doubted not but they would so far consult their own security, as not to leave the nation, under a rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened with a foreign invasion, in a defenceless condition.'

Both Houses returned their grateful thanks for the communications they had received from his Majesty, and assured him, that 'they would, with their lives and fortunes, aid his Majesty in defence of his person and undoubted right and title to the crown, in defiance of all his open and secret enemies.'

They, accordingly, requested his Majesty, that

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he would give immediate directions for fitting out such a number of ships as might effectually guard the coasts; and to issue out commissions for augmenting the land forces; and assured him that they would, without loss of time, effectually enable him to raise and maintain such an adequate force as might be necessary for the defence of his person and crown, and for the security of the nation.

Preparations were now made with a celerity suitable to the present apprehensions of danger. Next day, the Commons ordered in 'a bill to empower the King to secure and detain such persons as he might suspect to be conspiring against his person and government, until the 24th of January following;' such persons so detained were not to have the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act. This bill was twice read and committed for tomorrow, when it was passed, sent to the Lords, passed there also, and received the royal assent on the following day. By it the act of the Scottish parliament, passed in 1701, entitled, 'an act for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials,' was suspended as to cases of treason, or suspicion of it, till the 24th of January; horses of £5 value, or upwards, found in the custody of any person whom any Lieutenant, or two or more deputy Lieutenants, or other magistrates, might judge to be dangerous to the

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peace of the kingdom, were to be seized and detained for six weeks. A bill was also ordered in for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, and summoning all suspected persons there to appear at Edinburgh, or where it might be deemed expedient, to find bail for their good behaviour.

On the 22d July, the British fleet was ordered to rendezvous in the Downs, under the command of Sir George Bing, who immediately ordered a certain number of ships to cruise to the westward, and others towards the Nore. General Erle, governor of Portsmouth, was ordered to be on the alert, a report having reached the government of a design to surprize that important place; and two battalions were sent to re-inforce the garrison till more forces could be sent to secure it. The household troops, consisting of three regiments of foot guards, one of which was under the command of the Duke of Argyle, and four troops of horse guards, encamped in Hyde Park, where General Cadogan had laid out the ground. The militia of Westminster were also ordered out and reviewed by the Earl of Clare, Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex. The trained bands were mustered to suppress riots, which were unusually frequent and audacious about this time. The Lord Mayor and Lieutenancy of London, and Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, were ordered to assist in quelling mobs, and to take cognizance of all Pa-

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pists, Non-jurors, and other suspected persons, that were not residenters, and to secure the persons of such of them as could not give a good account of themselves.

The King, about this time, dismissed fourteen colonels of the guards, &c. and other inferior officers, on suspicion that they were in the Chevalier's interest, and filled up their posts with others more worthy of so great a trust. His Majesty also, in compliance with the addresses of Parliament, issued commissions for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, in Wynne, Pepper, Gore, Honeywood, Bowles, Munden, Dormer, Newton, Churchill, Tyrrel, Rich, Molesworth, and Stanhope, making in all 3000 men, and eight regiments of foot, under the command of Colonels Stanwix, Hotham, Grant, Debourgay, Pocock, Lucas, Chudley, and Handside, making 4000 men. These regiments were immediately levied, and ready for service. The Parliament granted a suitable sum for payment of these regiments for one year, and completed two battalions of Coldstream foot guards.

All officers of the army, governors of forts and garrisons, &c. were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts, on pain of his highest displeasure. His Majesty likewise, upon the address of the Commons, July 26th, allowed full pay to such half-pay officers as were not otherwise pro-

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vided; and ordered the said officers to hold themselves in readiness to be employed as his Majesty might think fit.

On the 29th July, a proclamation was published, ordering all Papists to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and within ten miles of the same, by the 8th of August next. Another proclamation was issued, in which notice is taken of the many riots that were carried on in various parts of the kingdom, and states, 'that there is no room to doubt but they were promoted and encouraged by Papists, Non-jurors, and other disaffected persons, in expectation of being supported from abroad; and that he has received certain advice, that the Chevalier is preparing to invade these kingdoms.' His Majesty, therefore, in council ordered the laws to be put in strict execution against Papists and Non-jurors; ordering, also, all Papists to be disarmed, and their horses, above £5 value, to be seized and sold; and the declaration against transubstantiation to be administered to Papists, and the oath of abjuration to Non-jurors.

Meanwhile, the Commons had under their consideration 'a bill for the further security of his Majesty's person and government, and the succession of the crown in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and

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his open and secret abettors.' It enabled his Majesty to grant a commission to administer the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, to all officers, common seamen, and soldiers; and contained a clause for rendering more effectual the provision in an act of the first year of his Majesty's reign, for seizing and securing the person of the Chevalier. It provided, that 'the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be paid to any person or persons, being natives or foreigners, who shall seize or secure the person of the Pretender, alive or dead, whenever he shall land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland, or any other of his Majesty's dominions.' This bill was carried up to the Lords on the 28th of July, and having been passed, received the royal assent, with other public acts, a few weeks after. Thus the Parliament manifested their loyalty to his Majesty, and their determination to oppose the Chevalier and his adherents.

The King had given notice to the States General of Holland of the Chevalier's intention to invade Great Britain, and demanded the assistance of 6000 men, stipulated by the late treaty of guarantee, for preserving the Protestant succession; and a squadron of men-of-war, if occasion required. (It was thought that the Chevalier would receive powerful assistance from the King of France.) The Dutch readily agreed to the

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demand of his Britannic Majesty, and ordered their ambassadors at London to assure him that they would be always ready to perform their engagements with Great Britain.

His Majesty received these assurances on Thursday the 4th of August, about which time Count Coningseck, whom the Emperor of Germany had sent over to the Court of Great Britain to adjust some differences in the barrier treaty, made offer, in the name of his master, to assist Britain with troops; but the King and Council did not conceive the danger so great as to require any other foreign aid besides the Dutch, and; accordingly, only brought two British regiments from Flanders, which were then lying in the garrison of Newport, being a part of the troops left by the Duke of Ormond, at the conclusion of the war. These were replaced by imperial forces.

The House of Commons immediately voted an additional 6000 men for the marine service, to be upheld during six months. The King, also, issued a proclamation, on the 8th of August, offering the reward of one month's pay to those who should voluntarily enter themselves into the navy, after the 21st of July, and before the 21st of August.

Several suspected individuals were taken into custody, about this time, and the horses and arms of the disaffected seized. Nothing, in short, was omitted which was deemed necessary for the de-

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fence of his Majesty's person, and the security of his kingdoms.

We will now relate the preparations that were made in Scotland, and other parts of the kingdom, by his Majesty's dutiful subjects:—

No sooner had the information of the designed invasion reached Edinburgh, than the few regular troops there, encamped in St. Ann's Yards, near the royal palace of Holyroodhouse. The Lord Provost and Magistrates, with the advice of their Council and other persons of distinction, ordered the trained bands to arms, and the city guard to be re-enforced; using also every other precaution which they considered necessary for securing the city from any sudden attempt. They resolved also, to levy four hundred men, to be maintained by the citizens, and were to be under the command of officers appointed by the Lord Provost and Council, who were also to have the directing of their operations.

Many persons of quality and gentlemen of property there, and in other parts of the nation, conceiving it their duty and interest to unite all his Majesty's faithful subjects in putting the country in a posture of defence, formed two Associations, and sent a circular letter, animating the people to take up arms in defence of the king and country, not doubting that by these means, through the blessing of God, they should speedily have a great

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body of brave men, who would venture their lives in so glorious a cause, and strike the enemies of God and King George with terror, as their worthy ancestors had done to the enemies of our holy religion and valuable liberties. The addresses display at once such loyalty and undissembled piety, that, though they may interrupt the history, we trust their insertion here will not be disagreeable to the patriotic reader, as they may serve the purpose of animating to imitate the laudable example of those heroes, who then appeared so zealous in defence of their religion and liberties, should occasion require.

The first association was composed of those who were not only willing to hazard their lives, but able to advance money in defence of his Majesty's title. They subscribed the following agreement and declaration:—

WE, subscribing, being under a deep sense of the goodness of Almighty God, in bringing to the peaceable possession of the Imperial Crown of these realms our only rightful and lawful Sovereign, King George, under whose good and wise administration we enjoy the invaluable blessings of having our pure and holy religion and just liberties preserved unto us, and the comfortable prospect of transmitting them to posterity; and considering, that the welfare and safety of these nations, and of the reformed religion, both at home and abroad, do, under God, depend upon the preservation of his Majesty's royal person and government; and that before, and since his Majesty's happy ac-

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cession, there has been, and still is, a restless Popish and Jacobite faction, who have left no pernicious contrivance unattempted, to impose upon us a Popish Pretender, tending to the utter subversion and destruction of our laws and liberties, and of every thing dear to us, as men and Christians; and that we have at present certain evidences, that there is on foot a design of an invasion from abroad in favour of the Pretender, while his friends and abettors at home are preparing to involve these nations in blood and confusion, and wreathe the yoke of Popery and slavery about our necks; and being convinced, that it is our duty as good Protestant subjects, to contribute our endeavours for preventing these malicious and fatal attempts, We do, conform to the laudable practice in former times of imminent danger, hereby mutually promise, and solemnly engage and oblige ourselves to stand by and assist one another, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his Majesty King George, our only rightful Sovereign, and of the Protestant succession now happily established, against all open and secret enemies, for the preservation and security of our holy religion, civil liberties, and most excellent constitution both in Church and State.

And seeing there are many well-affected persons, who are not able, without being assisted, to concur with us, for securing the public peace at a distance from their houses and employments, in case a foreign invasion or intestine insurrection should be attempted, or made to disturb his Majesty's right and possession: Therefore, we bind and oblige us, each of us for ourselves, to pay and advance the sums of money annexed to our several subscriptions, for supporting and maintaining of such a number of men, to receive orders from his Majesty's Commander in Chief in Scotland for the time, for so many days as the Commissioners or Managers after-mentioned shall find the money subscribed for, sufficient to maintain: And it is hereby declared, that we have instantly at our subscribing advanced the fourth part of the sum

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for which we have subscribed, which is deposited in the hands of whom we here nominate to be our Treasurer: And it is also hereby provided and declared, that a competent number of Managers shall be chosen and elected by us, in manner after-mentioned, for expending of the money according to the intent of these presents, and for giving such necessary directions and orders as shall be proper, from time to time, and that these managers shall forthwith, upon their election, be empowered to employ what part of the money in the hands of the said our Treasurer, they shall think fit, for raising and maintaining the said men, and afterwards to order him to lay out and dispose of the remainder, by warrants under their, or the major part of their hands, to him directed, as emergency may require; with full power to them, in case they shall see a necessity for further advances to be made by us, to call for what moieties of the remaining part of our subscription-money they shall think fit, which we hereby oblige ourselves to pay to them, or their order, on demand. And it is further provided and declared by these presents; that such of us as do subscribe for pounds sterling, or above, shall have a vote in the election of the said Commissioners or Managers; and that such of us as shall be so entitled to vote in the said election, shall determine the number of the said Commissioners or Managers, and appoint what part of them shall be a quorum, and give them general directions and instructions how to manage in that trust. Provided always, and it is hereby specially provided and declared, that our said Treasurer shall, upon his acceptance, grant an obligation to be lodged in the hands of the said Commissioners, to account to them for all the money he shall receive by virtue hereof, and to repay the several Contributors according to the sums they shall advance, their proportions of what part thereof shall remain undisposed of, as soon as he shall be ordered so to do by the said Commissioners. And,

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lastly, being sensible that it is our duty to be always on guard against the treasonable practices of these his Majesty's restless enemies, we do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, that though God in his mercy should disappoint our fears, yet this Association should stand in full force, in case of any attempt which may hereafter be made by the said Pretender or his abettors against the person or government of his present Majesty, King **GEORGE**, or the Protestant succession in his Royal Family, and to make payment of what part of our subscription-money shall remain unexpended on this occasion, when demanded by the Commissioners. In witness whereof, these presents, consented at Edinburgh, the first day of August, 1715, being the first day of the second year of the auspicious reign of our Sovereign Lord **GEORGE**, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, are subscribed by, &c.

The other Association consisted of those who were willing and able to fight in such an excellent cause; but unable to take the field at their own charge, were to receive pay. The obligations they came under were, That upon the first notice of the Chevalier's landing in any part of Britain, or upon advice of any insurrection, or appearance of his friends and abettors at home, in a hostile manner, for the support and assistance of the Chevalier, they were to assemble and meet together with their best horses and furniture, whether for foot or horse service, according to their abilities; and to the best of their power to comply with, and obey such orders, as they should receive from the Government, for the supporting of

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his Majesty King George, his person and government, and in defence of our liberties, civil and sacred, against the Chevalier, and all his abettors, &c. The following is the circular letter which they published:—

Edinburgh, 1st August, 1715.

SIR,—The certainty of a designed invasion, in favour of a Popish Pretender to the Crown, being no longer doubted of, and the danger thereby threatened, as well to his sacred Majesty King George, his person and government, as to all his good subjects, in their dearest and most valuable interests, being equally great, it comes to be the immediate duty of all who have any sincere regard to the true Protestant religion, and the civil rights and liberties of mankind, to shew a zealous concern for the preservation of these invaluable blessings, by exerting themselves to the utmost, in defence of his Majesty's just right and title to the Crown, and vigorously opposing all attempts that shall be made to disturb his government. For these ends, We, his Majesty's faithful subjects in and about this city, have, under the countenance of those in authority here, cheerfully and unanimously engaged ourselves in a bond of Association, to assist and support one another, in manner therein expressed: And being also sensible how proper it is to encourage and stimulate others to so necessary a duty, we have thought fit to send a copy of our fore-said Association to you, and many other parishes in Scotland, who, we hope, from the same motives contained in the preamble of our paper, will stir up themselves, in their several stations, to act with such resolution as becomes those who have their all at stake. The prize we contend for is Liberty; it is essential to our very happiness. For how can we possibly retain our civil and religious rights, if we tamely submit to the yoke, and part

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with our Liberty? Will not life itself be a burden, if all that is dear to us, either as men or Christians, shall thus be lost, past all hopes of recovery? This consideration alone should rouse us from a fatal security, and our anxiety for Liberty should daily increase in proportion to our danger, which is visibly hastening upon us, by the secret and open attacks of the restless enemies of our peace and happiness. Is it not then seasonable and honest thoroughly to consider our circumstances, and to let our enemies know that we are on our guard? We do, therefore, persuade ourselves, it will be the business of every honest man to look up with spirit, and do his utmost to maintain and defend our excellent Constitution both in Church and State, the sum of our present happy condition, which, by the blessing of God, nothing can make desperate, but our own sloth and cowardice. Has not our good and gracious God hitherto made signal appearances on our behalf? Have not our eyes seen the salvation he hath wrought for us, time after time. Can we, without horror, remember the unparalleled cruelties we met with, when a Popish interest and faction had the ascendant? Can we forget the remarkable deliverance God wrought for us, in breaking the yoke of their arbitrary and tyrannical government, by the great King William, in the late glorious Revolution? Can we have forgot the goodness of God, in defeating the last attempt of this nature, in such a manner, as left no ground to doubt, but that God did then appear on our side? Or shall we ever cease to remember the seasonable and surprizing interposition of Heaven, in bringing His present Majesty King George to the quiet and peaceable possession of the throne of these realms; and this at a time when our fears were so great, that nothing but a solid persuasion of the Lord God, his concerning himself for his own interest, kept up our spirits, and made us hope for relief. Why should we then despond? the same hand is not now shortened, that it cannot save; the same God we trust in,

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is both able and willing to rescue us from the imminent dangers that now threaten us, by the insurrection of a Jacobite faction, and the invasion of a Pretender to the Crown, who has been educated in all the maxims of Popish bigotry and French tyranny, and now comes against us with an army of Irish cut-throats, assisted (as we have no reason to doubt) by the grand enemy to the Reformed Interest in Europe, who hath imbrued his hands so much in Protestant blood. It is, therefore, earnestly recommended to you, to further so good and necessary a work, as you cannot but be convinced the above-mentioned Association must be at this time. Court the present opportunity, get all the honest hands to it you can, and then appoint your place of rendezvous, that you may be in a readiness to come together, when you hear of a landing. And let us have the satisfaction to know what happy progress you may make from time to time in this affair, addressing your Letters to the Secretary of our Society, who, by our order, subscribes this to you. In the mean time, let us all be much employed in fervent prayer to God, that the great Jehovah, Lord of Heaven and Earth, may prosper and succeed all our endeavours for the preservation of our peace, and the security of our holy religion and civil rights, and that this God may bless and preserve his most sacred Majesty, King George, in his royal person and government, and his Protestant issue, to latest posterity. And to conclude, 'Let us be of good courage, and play the men for our people, and the cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth him good.'

This Letter had a very happy effect. In a few days a considerable sum was subscribed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns; and all ranks seemed eager to vie with each other in

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evincing their loyalty. The treacherous designs of the Jacobite faction would have been frustrated by these and similar Associations, had they not been stopped by the suggestion, that their conduct might be deemed an invasion of the prerogative of the House of Commons, which alone can levy money for the service of the State. They addressed his Majesty, making, at the same time, a tender of their assistance. His Majesty expressed his satisfaction at their zealous endeavours to aid the Government, but, understanding that the Chevalier had desisted his preparations to invade so soon as he had heard of the precautionary measures for preventing it, he hoped their assistance would not be needed.

A considerable number of the Gentlemen who had joined the Association, practised the military exercises in the College Hall; who were called The Associate Volunteers of Edinburgh, and amounted to 400 men. They subscribed the following bond:—‘ We, the Subscribers, do hereby mutually promise and engage ourselves, to stand by and assist one another, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his Majesty, King GEORGE, our only rightful Sovereign, and of the Protestant Succession now happily established, against the Pretender, and all open and secret enemies; for the preservation and security of our holy religion, civil liberties, and

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most excellent Constitution, both in Church and State.'

The city of Glasgow, which had displayed so much patriotism at the Revolution, by sending 500 men to guard the Convention, had, upon the conclusion of the inglorious treaty of peace at Utrecht, the disbanding of the army, passing of the schism, patronage, and toleration bills, and giving money yearly to the Highlanders, taken the alarm, and settled a correspondence with the well-affected Gentlemen and others, in the eastern, western, and southern parts of the kingdom. In concert with them, about the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, they provided ammunition and arms, to prevent the dismal catastrophe which the gloomy aspect of affairs then threatened, and which has been already narrated. The inhabitants were so well disciplined in military exercises, that they were inferior to few among the regular forces. The magistrates were among the first in the kingdom who proclaimed the Elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, king of these realms, upon the first notice of the demise of Queen Anne; and did every thing necessary for the public safety so soon as they heard of her indisposition. About this time, having received information concerning the Pretender's intentions, from the Duke of Montrose, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, a meeting of the Council was sum-

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moned, when they resolved to order out the trained bands, and the guards to be doubled, lest the disaffected clans might come down and plunder the city.

The alarm being communicated also to Paisley, Greenock, Air, Kilmarnock, Irvine, Kilwinning, Saltcoats; Lanark, Hamilton, Strathaven, Rutherglen, and villages adjacent; they were speedily put in a posture of defence. The town of Kilmarnock, in particular, evinced singular zeal for the Revolution interest and Protestant succession of the illustrious House of Hanover. The dreary aspect which the affairs of the nation wore immediately after the Queen's death, induced the inhabitants of this city to prepare themselves for the threatened convulsion, by exercising themselves in the use of arms. Subscriptions of money were opened, to which the corporate bodies, the two ministers, and the opulent inhabitants, contributed liberally. This patriotic zeal and liberality were cherished and directed by the generous example of the Earl of Kilmarnock; whose loyal services, during the rebellion, cannot receive too high an encomium, nor can our purposed brevity allow us sufficient space to narrate. We shall notice them, however, in their proper places.

Neither was the town of Dumfries behind in preparations of defence. The trained bands were

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ordered out, and strong guards were constantly kept for the safety of the town. Seven companies, each of sixty effective men, were raised among the inhabitants. These were commanded by the Provost, and were excellently trained. A company of the younger classes was formed from the rest, under the title of the Company of Loyal Bachelors: to prevent emulation among which, their officers were taken from the married men. This company was exercised often, and acquired such expertness in military discipline, as made them very useful to their respective companies, when again intermixed with them.

This town had reason to take the alarm with the first in North Britain, not only because of their vicinity to England, where the tumultuous mobs were disturbing the peace, and venting their malice especially against such as were of the communion of the national church; but also, because of the number of Papists and Jacobites in their neighbourhood, who hated and threatened them for their attachment to the Constitution both in Church and State, and for the impartiality of the magistrates in executing the laws against vice and immorality, of which some of the Popish party were guilty.

The gentlemen, clergy, and people in Nithsdale and Galloway, followed the laudable example of the principal burgh of their district, and perceiv-

ing frequent consultations among the Jacobites, and the movements of the Highlanders, made every preparation necessary to resist their designs, each parish exercising separately with arms, and in conjunction with others. Guards were advantageously placed on the roads, to notice strangers, search for letters, and cut off the communications of the Jacobites. — Bell, of Minsca, a Jacobite gentleman, having insulted the guards at Penpont, and refusing to stand when desired by them, was shot through the leg; which was the first affray, accompanied with the loss of blood, that happened in the cause of the Pretender. About this time, Major James Aikman came hither from Edinburgh, to witness and direct the preparations. He inspected several regiments in Galloway, and such of those in Nithsdale as were properly accoutred, at a review on Marjory Muir. He was accompanied by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Mr Gordon of Earlstoun, and Mr James Nimmo from Edinburgh.

They, with Mr John Pollock, minister of Glenearne, convened a meeting at Closeburn, to make the necessary arrangements for the security of the country. They unanimously agreed, ‘1st, That each parish be modelled into companies, and proper officers chosen for that effect. 2d, That each parish exercise twice or thrice a-week. 3d, That upon the first advice of the Pretender's landing,

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each parish should meet separately, in some convenient place, to concert what should be done either with their horse or foot: and it was earnestly desired, that they should bring their arms and ammunition with them to that place. 4th, That upon the first notice of the Pretender's arrival at Loch-ryon, Kirkcudbright, upon the Borders, or in the Firth of Forth, Sanquhar should be the place of rendezvous for the western shires. 5th, That upon the enemy's landing in any of these places, all the horses and cattle should be driven from the coasts into the country; and that a body of horsemen attend, to hinder their plundering the country. 6th, That there be a party of light horse or foot in each parish, to unite with the neighbouring parishes in preventing the junction of the Jacobites with the French, to interrupt their communications, and harrass their parties; and for this end, all roads leading to the enemy should be blockaded, and persons travelling towards them in arms secured. 7th, That all boats on the western coasts be secured, to prevent any communication with the French fleet, should they appear. 8th, And last, That our friends in every particular district fall upon ways and means to make these arrangements effectual.' In short, no district in Britain displayed more patriotism, than the districts of Galloway and Nithsdale.

On the 8th of August, the inhabitants of Kelso

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assembled in their church, and with the utmost unanimity subscribed the following agreement:—
'We, subscribers, do, by these presents, bind and oblige ourselves, by the blessing of God, to assist and stand by one another, in defence of our lawful sovereign, King George, the succession of the crown happily established by law, and the Protestant religion, in opposition to a Popish Pretender, and all his abettors.' Next day, Mr Chatto, a magistrate, assisted by the neighbouring gentlemen, Mr Ramsay, the minister, and the principal inhabitants, concerted measures for their mutual defence. Besides those who were already armed, 120 muskets were given to a select number of the inhabitants, under the command of proper officers, and distributed through the several wards of the town. Such was the resolution of the inhabitants of this place, which was merely a burgh of regality belonging to the Duke of Roxburgh, that a hundred more offered their services than could be supplied with arms. They were reviewed by Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, and Sir John Pringle of Stichel, Barts. Indeed, the whole of Teviotdale displayed a great attachment to the principles of the Revolution.

But, not to tire with particulars, suffice it to say, that nearly all the towns of the island, particularly those which were exposed to invasion, exerted every energy to render their religion and liberties

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secure, disregarding the influence of Jacobite heritors, who anxiously endeavoured to repress the patriotic flame.

The Earl of Glasgow, whose seat was in the vicinity of the Highlands of Scotland, understanding that certain clans were preparing to welcome and join the Chevalier, and perceiving that the number of regular troops in the country was inadequate to the threatened danger, offered to his Majesty, to maintain a thousand men upon his own expence. This offer being transmitted to one of the Principal Secretaries of State, his Lordship received the thanks of his Majesty for this seasonable tender of his services. This noble patriot, at the Revolution, was a member of the Convention of Estates, and appeared then, under the name of David Boyle of Kelburn, a strenuous contender for settling the crown of Scotland on King William and Queen Mary, and thereafter on the Protestant issue of the Princess Sophia of Hanover.

The Pretender now openly encouraged his adherents. His agents raised money in several parts of the Continent, and large sums were contributed in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, by the Popish Princes and States in his interest, because he was a member of their Church, which obviously indicated an intention to bring Britain and Ireland again under subjection to the See of

Rome. That the sum contributed for the service of the Chevalier was great, appeared from the complaints of his agents at St. Germain's, concerning his partizans in Scotland, 'that they had spent twelve millions in that expedition, and had done nothing but ruined their friends;' and when we consider the vast quantity of military stores said to have been provided at Havre de Grace and St. Maloes.

The Earl of Mar being unable to establish his interest at the Court of London, resolved on those wicked and treacherous designs he afterwards followed. He received from abroad one hundred thousand pounds sterling, together with letters and instructions in the Chevalier's own hand, and a commission appointing him Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of his forces in Scotland. To prevent detection, he resolved to make a journey to Scotland, whither he embarked, in disguise, with Major General Hamilton, Colonel Hay, and two servants, on board of a collier in the Thames, on the 1st of August, and arrived at Newcastle on the 4th. A vessel was hired there, belonging to one Spence, which set them ashore in the Ely, whence they proceeded to Creil, in Fife. He was immediately joined by Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, and others of his friends there. They then went forward to Kinoul, Perthshire, where he stayed on Wednes-

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day, the 17th, and on the 18th he passed the river Tay, about two miles below Perth, with forty horse, on his way to the north. Next day, he sent letters to all the Jacobites round the country, inviting them to meet him, without delay, at Brae-Mar, Aberdeenshire, where he arrived on Saturday, the 20th of August.

That their measures were pre-concerted appeared evident. On Saturday, the 6th of August, their friends at Edinburgh were apprized of it, and early on the morning of the 7th, Captain John Dalzell, a half-pay officer, who, in view of this rebellion, had resigned his commission to the Earl of Orkney, was sent out to give the alarm to his brother, the Earl of Carnwath, then at Ellick; whence information was communicated to the Earl of Kenmure, and other friends in these parts; the Earl went immediately and convened his friends, who, after arranging their affairs, repaired to Lothian, giving out that they were going to hunt in the north. This was plausible and requisite, for the Earl of Mar had assembled the chiefs of his clans together, and required some pretence for doing it.* In his council, held at Brae-Mar, on the 26th of August, he was attended by a number of gentlemen of the first rank, among which were the Marquis of Huntley, eldest son to the Duke of Gordon; the Marquis of Tulli-

* Patten's History of the Rebellion, p. 120.

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bardine, eldest son to the Duke of Athol; the Earls of Nithsdale, Mareschal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, and several others; the Viscounts of Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormount; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie, and many gentlemen of rank from the clans, among whom were the two Generals, Hamilton and Gordon; Glenderule, Auldbair, Auchterhouse, and Glengary.

These being assembled, he addressed them in a speech full of invectives against his Majesty King George and the Protestant succession, remarking, with seeming sorrow, 'that though he had been instrumental in accomplishing the Union of the two kingdoms, in the reign of Queen Anne, yet now his eyes were opened, and he saw his error, and would use every exertion to make them again a free people; that they should, in the event of success, enjoy their ancient privileges, which were, by the *cursed* Union, surrendered to the English, whose power to enslave them was very great, and design to do so becoming daily more visible, in the measures pursued by the government; that the Prince of Hanover, since he ascended the throne, had disregarded the welfare of his subjects, and their religious interests, by making considerable encroachments on their liberties in Church and State; and that the conduct of those

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at present entrusted with the administration of affairs, had aroused many to determine vigorously to defend their liberties and properties against the innovations of the courtiers, and to establish upon the throne of these realms, the Chevalier St George, who, he said, had the only undoubted right to the crown, had promised to hear their grievances, and would redress their wrongs.' He then excited them to take arms for the Chevalier, whom he called King James the VIII. and told them that he was resolved to unfurl his standard, and summon all the fencible men of his own tenants, determined to hazard his life in the cause. He encouraged them by the assurance that there would be a general insurrection throughout England, on the same account; and that their King, (as he called the Chevalier), had already received large supplies, and promises of further assistance, from France, and several Continental States, which had stipulated, by treaty, to assist in deposing King George, and establishing the Chevalier.

He then produced letters written by the Chevalier himself, from Lorrain, in which he promised to come over, and trust himself to the valour and fidelity of his Scottish subjects; and that ships, containing, arms, ammunition, and military stores, with officers, engineers, and volunteers, would be sent as soon as he would understand what port could be rendered convenient for their reception.

He, at the same time, shewed them his commission, under the Chevalier's own hand, appointing him Lieutenant-General, Commander in Chief, and Secretary at War, and concluded by stating that as he would be amply provided with money to maintain an army, neither the noblemen who might join this cause, nor the country, would sustain any part of the expence.

With these and similar arguments, which he enforced in the most flattering manner, he prevailed upon them to embrace his project. It is reported that they engaged by oath to remain true to each other, and to bring over their friends and dependents to the measure. However, they did not immediately after this meeting assemble their followers, but dispersed, each to his own estate, to make arrangements for appearing in arms, so soon as they would receive the signal from the Earl of Mar, who remained on his own estate with only a few attendants. A few days after, the Earl summoned them all, at least such as were near the place, to a general meeting at Aboyne, Aberdeenshire, on the 3d of September, when he directed them to concentrate their forces, without delay, and returned to Brae-Mar, where he collected his own dependents, to the amount of two thousand men, chiefly cavalry. He immediately erected the Chevalier's standard there, on the 6th of September, 1715, and proclaimed him King

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of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, &c. This standard, supposed to be made by the Earl's lady, was very elegant: the colour was blue, having, on the one side the Scottish arms wrought in gold, and on the other, the Scottish thistle, with these words beneath, '*No Union*,' and, on the top, the ancient motto, '*Nemo me impune lacessit*.' It had pendants of white ribband, one of which had these words written upon it, '*For our wronged King and oppressed Country*;' the other ribband had, '*For our lives and liberties*.' It is reported, that when this standard was first erected, the ornamental ball on the top fell off, which depressed the spirits of the superstitious Highlanders, who deemed it ominous of misfortune in the cause for which they were then appearing.

They went first to a small town, named Kirk-michael, where they proclaimed the Chevalier, and invited the people to join his standard. They next entered Maulin, another small town in Perthshire, where they likewise proclaimed him, and were considerably re-enforced, the chiefs of the clans having previously separated for the purpose of recruiting. The Chevalier was also proclaimed at Aberdeen by the Earl Mareschal; at Dunkeld, by the Marquis of Tullibardine; at Perth, by Colonels Balfour and Hay, after they had seized that place; at Castle Gordon, by the Marquis of Huntly; at Brechin, by the Earl of Panmure; at Mon-

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trase, by the Earl of Southesk; at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon, afterwards created Viscount of Dundee; and at Inverness, by Brigadier-General M'Intosh, at the head of 600 men, who, having found that important pass without a garrison, took possession of it, and, leaving Sir John M'Kenzie of Coul governor, returned to the army.

While they were thus employed, and expecting, not without good reason, considerable assistance from the French King, Louis XIV. it pleased God to remove him by death.* Intelligence of this, at such a critical juncture, struck a damp upon the spirits of the chiefs of the clans, who immediately held a consultation whether they should hold out any longer in expectation of the Prince coming, according to his promise, or abandon the enterprize. Some were for immediately going home, but the majority, depending upon a general insurrection in England, were for persisting until they received information from France, whither they agreed to send messengers to importune the Chevalier to come over. Agreeable to this resolution, the Earl of Mar, assuming the title of Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's

* He died on the 21st of August, O. S. 1715, in the 77th year of his age, and resigned his kingdom to his great grandson, Louis, born on the 15th of February, 1710, who was now only five years and eight months old, and the Regency to his nephew, Philip, Duke of Orleans.

The Earl of Mar's declaration.

forces, published the following declaration, which he sent, with a letter, to the baillie of Kildrummy:—

‘OUR rightful and hereditary King, James the VIII. by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to entrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his ancient kingdom of Scotland: and some of his faithful subjects and servants, met at Aboyne, viz. the Lord Huntley, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Mareschal, the Earl Southesk, Glengary, from the clans; Glenderule, from the Earl of Breadalbine, and Gentlemen of Argyleshire; Mr Patrick Lyon, of Auchterhouse; the Laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, Major-General Gordon, and myself, having taken into consideration His Majesty's last and late orders to us, find, that as this is now the time he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects, and lovers of their country, should, with all possible speed, put themselves into arms. These are, therefore, in His Majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the King's special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you, forthwith, to raise

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your fencible men with their best arms: and you are immediately to march them to join one and some other of the King's forces at the Inndor of Brae-Mar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the King's standard with his other forces. The King, intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their first setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering, or other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure, which, it is expected, you'll see observed. Now is the time for all good men to shew their zeal for his Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned,—and the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native King, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent Constitution, under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

‘In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal family of Stuart, and our country from sinking under oppression.

‘Your punctual observance of these orders is expected; for the doing all which, this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them,

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a sufficient warrant. Given at Brae-Mar, 9th September, 1715.

MAR.

The following is the letter which accompanied the above declaration:—

Invercauld, September 9th, at night, 1715.

Jock, ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and country's account, as I have account from them since they were with me, and the Gentlemen of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that only men should be found refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about which they have been wishing these twenty years? And now when it is come, and the King and Country's cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be obliged to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you, enclosed, an order for the Lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals. If they give ready obedience, it will make some amends; and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend on it that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them: And they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it into execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others.

Manifesto in favour of the Chevalier.

‘ You are to tell the Gentlemen that I’ll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback; and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. As this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your King and Country.

‘ Your assured friend and servant,

To John Forbes, Inceran, }
Baillie of Kildrummy. }

A few days after, the Earl of Mar and the other chiefs published the following manifesto, which was printed for them by Mr Robert Freebairn, one of the King’s printers in Edinburgh:—

MANIFESTO

By the NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful Sovereign, JAMES the VIII. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. and for relieving this his ancient kingdom from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

‘ His Majesty’s right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance, or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient Constitutions, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his

Manifesto of the noblemen and gentlemen

Majesty the duty of loyal subjects: Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful King. The laws of the land secure our religion and other interests: and His Majesty, giving up himself to the support of his Protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands.

‘ Our fundamental Constitution has been entirely altered, and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction; while, in searching out new expedients pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops.

‘ The late unhappy Union, which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his Majesty’s subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them: And it appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us and hurt them. Nor can any way be found out to relieve us and restore our ancient and inde-

attached to the Chevalier's interest.

pendent Constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural King, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us: neither can we hope that the parties who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts of all Scotsmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown the dissolution of the Union to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity, so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value or force; and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion. A packed-up assembly, who call themselves a British Parliament, have, so far as in them lay, inhumanly murdered their own and our Sovereign, by offering a great sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy patriots of England, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace, to these nations.

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They have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries, by which the liberties of our persons were secured; they have empowered a foreign Prince (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our customs, manners, and language) to make an absolute conquest (if not timely prevented) of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling on foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise in the way it is at present for some generations to come. And the said consequences of these unexampled proceedings, have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends and fellow-subjects of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives, and children; or give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims to be sacrificed at the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and good services, have been treated, since the peace, with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland; and it is not now the officers long service, merit, and blood, they have lost, but money and favour by which they can obtain justice in their preferments: so that it is evident, the safety

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of his Majesty's person, and independency of his Kingdoms, call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

• The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace, and quiet, of us, and our posterity, and our duty to his Majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means of putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as, by our present situation, we have before us; and with faithful hearts, true to our only rightful King, our country, and our neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect (as his Majesty's command) the assistance of all our true fellow-subjects to second this our first attempt; declaring hereby this, our sincere intentions, that we will promote and concur in all lawful means, for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native born rightful Sovereign, the direction of our own domestic counsels, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will, in the same manner, concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties, secured by the Parliaments of both kingdoms. That, by the wisdom of such Parliaments, we will endeavour to have such

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Manifesto of the noblemen and gentlemen

laws enacted, as shall give absolute security to us, and future ages, for the Protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, Popery, and all its other enemies. Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his Majesty's judgment, as not to hope, that, in due time, good example, and conversation with our learned divines, will remove those prejudices, which we know his education in a Popish country has not rivetted in his royal discerning mind; and we are sure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the King is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow-subjects who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us, in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them.

That we will use our best endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same foot and establishment of pay, as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually, and establish a right, firm, and lasting Union betwixt his Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England.

attached to the Chevalier's interest.

The peace of these nations being thus settled, and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons; and will concur in such laws and methods, as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and, at the same time, will support the public credit in all its parts. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage, that every officer who joins with us in our King and Country's cause, shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station, and the number of men he brings off with him to us; and such foot soldier so joyning us shall have 20 shillings sterling; and each trooper or dragoon who brings horse and accoutrements along with him, 12 pounds sterling, gratuitously, besides their pay. And, in general, we shall concur with all our fellow-subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful Sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution, undisturbed by a Pretender's interests and councils from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good, so just a cause, we do not doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured the royal family of STUARTS, and our Country from sinking under oppression.'

Attempt to surprise the castle

This manifesto being ended, the people, with loud acclamations, shouted 'No Union! No Malt, nor Salt Tax!' Then the Highlanders returned to their quarters, where they waited till Thursday, during which time nothing material happened; but they failed not here, as well as in other places, to demand the public revenues, viz. excise, customs, &c. and to search for arms where they found some small pieces of cannon which formerly belonged to Hume Castle. They likewise found some broad swords hid in the Church, and a quantity of gun-powder. There happened a very uncommon accident while here:—A Highlander having taken the lock from his musket, laid the barrel across the arms of a chair, whilst he, at two yards distance, having cleaned, and trying the lock, a spark of fire flew directly to the touch-hole of the piece, which was loaded, and went off wounding three children sitting round the fire; and it is the more strange the bullet should wound all the children, who were not sitting in a line.

Whilst they were gathering in the north, a conspiracy was formed to surprise the castle of Edinburgh, on the 8th of September, 1715, between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, by mounting the walls on the west side, with rope ladders, under the direction of Lord Drummond. A centinel, then on duty, actually let down a rope, and hauled up the ladder, upon which some of the

of Edinburgh happily frustrated.

party were mounted. The principal traitor, William Ainsly, a sergeant, who was executed for his villany, had the promise of a lieutenancy; and James Thomson, and John Holland, had received, the one eight guineas, and the other four, with the promise of a better reward if the design should succeed. The number engaged in the enterprize were about eighty, besides officers; or, (as a late writer says) no less than ninety chosen men, picked out for the enterprize, all gentlemen; and each of them was to receive £100 sterling, and a commission in the army. That Lord Drummond was to be governor, as being the contriver of it, and that, upon the success of it, they were to fire three rounds of the artillery in the castle, which, by the communication of fires, to be kindled at convenient distances, was to be a signal to the Earl of Mar, immediately to march towards Edinburgh with his forces, to make themselves masters of that important city and castle. This design, though kept secret among the conspirators, was happily prevented by Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk. Mr Arthur, formerly an ensign in the castle, had communicated the matter to his brother, Dr. Arthur, a physician in Edinburgh, (whom he had but then engaged into the Jacobite measures). Appearing very melancholy upon the day before the attempt was made, his lady importuned him till she got into the secret, and,

Vigorous and patriotic measures

that evening, sent a servant with an anonymous letter to Lord Justice Clerk. His Lordship no sooner received this intelligence, than he sent an express to Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, Deputy-Governor of the Castle, who immediately ordered the gates to be shut, the guards doubled, and to make diligent rounds; but it seems he went to bed, and acted not vigorously enough, for which he was deprived of his post, and committed prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The garrison being thus alarmed, as Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party, was marching to the sally port, where the attempt was to be made, Thomson and Holland while waiting to assist them, observing the approach of the party, threw over the ropes, letting the ladders fall; upon which, the centinels having heard the noise, fired, and the conspirators fled and dispersed.

A party of the town guard, which, at the request of the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Provost had sent up with Major James Aikman, to patrol about the castle, came up, hearing this alarm, and found one Captain M'Clean, formerly an officer of King James VII. lying upon the ground, bruised by a fall from the precipice, whom they secured, with Alexander Ramsay, and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh, and one Leslie, formerly page to the Duchess of Gordon. They likewise found the ladder, with a dozen of carabines, which

the conspirators had thrown away in order to accelerate their flight. This was a narrow escape to the Government, for if the conspirators had got possession of that important fortress, they would have commanded the city of Edinburgh, and most of the kingdom, where there are but few garrisons of any note; and given such reputation to their arms, that the King's affairs would have been but in an indifferent situation.

On the first news of the Earl of Mar's rising in the north, the city of Glasgow settled a correspondence with Edinburgh, Stirling, and the heads of Monteith, that they might have certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, and that they might not be wanting, with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, to do what was incumbent upon them for the preservation of all that was sacred and dear to them, they erected a committee of the principal inhabitants, with one of the magistrates to sit every day, for concerting what was to be done, for keeping the peace of the City and Country, in so far as they had influence. And among the first things to be done, was a proposal to raise six hundred men for sixty days, for the service of their lawful Sovereign, King George, and, in two days, obtained subscriptions for their maintenance, at per day. The committee also made choice of their officers, who were ordered to enlist their soldiers, which was accordingly done in a very

Lord Townshend's reply to the

short time, the most of them offering their service, upon such an occasion, as volunteers. The City, being ready to serve King and Country, wrote up to Court, and made offer of five hundred men for sixty days, upon their own charges. Whereupon they received the following letter from Lord Townshend, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, directed to the Lord Provost:—

Whitehall, August 18th, 1715.

‘MY LORD,—Having received from my Lord Duke of Montrose the letter of the City of Glasgow to His Majesty, I took the first opportunity of delivering it, which His Majesty received very graciously, looking upon it as a very seasonable testimony of the City of Glasgow's singular zeal and affection to His Majesty's person and government; and your Lordship is directed to return them His Majesty's thanks for the cheerful offer and tender they make of their duty and service on this occasion: but His Majesty hopes such measures have been taken for the security and defence of these parts, as shall be effectual for that end, without putting his subjects of your City to any further trouble and expence; for orders have been given for returning the three regiments which were lately sent to Ireland, and which, we hope, may be with you before this; and also for the marching into those parts of General Carpenter's regiment of dragoons, and for the levying with you the regiment of foot to be commanded by Brigadier Grant; and for the augmenting of all the regiments now in North Britain to twelve companies each, and sixty men in a company: and if any further re-enforcement shall be judged necessary, shall not be wanting, as soon as the new levies here are compleated, which we hope may be by the 1st of September. This your Lordship will

address of the city of Glasgow.

take the first opportunity to communicate to the Magistrates and City of Glasgow, that, at the same time, they may have the satisfaction of knowing the just sense His Majesty has of their zeal for his service, and the care the Government has taken of the peace and quiet of these parts. I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with, but to assure you, so long as I have the honour of serving His Majesty in this station, I shall always make it my study to promote the interest and concerns of your City. I am, with great truth,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

TOWNSHEND.

Notwithstanding whereof, that loyal city continued to exercise and discipline their inhabitants, till there was farther occasion for their service.

About the same time, the Earls of Eglinton, Kilmarnock, Glasgow, Lord Cathcart, and others of the nobility and gentry in Ayrshire, met at that place, to concert what was then to be done for the safety of the country, and defence of the Government; and a motion was then made by such as were most hearty for King George's interest. That they should offer his Majesty four thousand men, well furnished with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, to guard the western coasts, or to march wherever the King should command them; and that they should pay them for forty days. Also, that they should, at that time, enter into an association with respect to the above parti-

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culars. But some of them opposed these loyal motions, alledging that they could not muster men by law; but it was answered, that it was not now time for them to make niceties about punctilios of law, when the sword of the enemy was over their heads. At last, it was proposed that they should send up to his Majesty, a loyal and dutiful address against the Prince and his adherents, as many others had done on this occasion; and though it was not so particular as the well-affected party wished, yet, to prevent a division in such a populous shire, which would, no doubt, have been encouraging to the enemies of the Government, they unanimously agreed to it.

After signing the said address, the nobility and gentry of the Balliery of Cunninghame did enter into an agreement to train and discipline men, and appointed a general rendezvous of the fencible men in Cunninghame, at the town of Irvine, on the Monday following, (August 22d); at which time, upon a short advertisement, there appeared on the Common of Irvine, six thousand effective men, well armed, and in good order, with their proper officers, making a handsome appearance, and expressing a great deal of zeal and loyalty for his Majesty King George, and a firm resolution to defend his Majesty's person and Government against the Prince, and all his other enemies. The town of Irvine had a company of artillery, besides

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their trained bands, with three pieces of cannon mounted on an eminence, wherewith they saluted the respective nobility, gentry, and battalions, as they came up, viz. the Earls Eglinton, Glasgow, and Kilmarnock; the Lords Semple and Boyd; with the other gentlemen in that jurisdiction.

The Earl of Kilmarnock appeared here at the head of five hundred of his own men, who made by far the best appearance of any that were there. And what materially contributed to their lustre, was the early blossoms of the loyal principle and education of Lord Boyd; who, though but eleven years of age, appeared in arms with the Earl, his father, and gracefully behaved himself, to the admiration of all the beholders.

The Duke of Douglas was now begun to levy and train three hundred men, his own tenants, in Clydesdale, for the service of his King and country; and, on the 8th of September, 1715, the tenants of the Duchess of Hamilton, Captain Weir of Stonebyres, the Laird of Corhause, the fencibles in the parish of Carluke, the tenants of Sir James Carmichael of Bonnyton, and the Laird of Lae, with all the fencibles in the parish of Lanark, appeared there in their best arms and accoutrements, who, being drawn up by the Magistrates, assisted by Sir James Carmichael, Mr Menzies of Coulterallors, Captain Weir, and others, the several companies marched in good order, under their respec-

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tive officers, to the muir of Lanark, where they performed their various evolutions, to the entire satisfaction of their commanders; and testified their zeal and attachment to his Majesty's person and Government.

About three weeks before the gentlemen and people in the upper parts of Nithsdale met at Penpont, where they mustered four hundred men, exclusive of a hundred horsemen, they were reviewed by Major James Aikman, who exhorted them to behave all in good order, and to be ready to appear upon the first alarm. The town of Dumfries, and parishes, with those of Galloway, were nothing behind the rest as to their loyalty and diligence. They were instructed in the military exercise by Colonel Maxwell of Cardonness, Mr Gordon of Earlstoun, Captain Fullerton of Carlilore, Mr Gordon of Largmore, Mr Carson of Balmangan, and the other gentlemen in the respective parishes.

His Majesty, having intelligence of the motions of the Tories in Scotland, had, on or before the 19th of August, appointed the Lord Lieutenants for the several shires to raise the militia there, using all endeavours to preserve the public peace.

The Lord Lieutenants thus appointed, and the shires where they had the command, were as follows :—

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SHIRES.	LORD LIEUTENANTS.
Mid Lothian,	Archibald, Earl of Ilay.
West Lothian,	Charles, Earl of Hopeton.
East Lothian,	Charles, Marquis of Tweeddale.
March,	Alexander, Lord Polwarth.
Roxburgh and Selkirk,	John, Duke of Roxburgh.
Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, } and Peebles,	William, Marq. of Annandale.
Galloway,	John, Earl of Stair.
Clydesdale,	Charles, Earl of Selkirk.
Renfrew,	William, Lord Ross.
Ayr,	Hugh, Earl of Loudoun.
Bute,	The Earl of Bute.
Argyle and Dunbarton,	John, Duke of Argyle.
Stirling and Clackmannan, ..	David, Earl of Buchan.
Perth,	John, Duke of Athol.
Fife and Kinross,	John, Earl of Rothes.
Angus,	Archibald, Duke of Douglas.
Aberdeen and Mearns,	William, Lord Forbes.
Banff and Inverness,	Brigadier Alexander Grant.
Ross and Cromarty,	John, Earl of Sutherland.
Murray and Nairn,	
Caithness and Sutherland, }	
Orkney,	James, Earl of Morton.

The regiments of the Earls of Forfar and Orre-
ry, with that of Lieutenant-General Hill, being re-
called from Ireland, arrived at Edinburgh on the
24th of August; and, at that time, orders were
given to Major-General Wightman, who was then
upon the spot, to march with all the regular troops
that could be spared, to form a camp in the Park
of Stirling, and secure the castle; and to place the

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half-pay officers in such a manner over the country, as that they might be in readiness to encourage exercise, and command the militia, upon any emergency. The General accordingly ordered the half-pay officers to their posts; went up himself to Stirling, with a part of these troops, and marked out a camp for them. He was followed, on the 28th, by five companies of the Earl of Forfar's regiment, who were then in Leith; and, next day, by the royal regiment of Scots Greys, commanded by the Earl of Portmore, and a detachment of Lord Shannon's regiment of foot, with two pieces of cannon, and six waggons loaded with ammunition.

Three days after, General Whitham, then Commander in Chief, went also with the remainder of Lord Shannon's regiment, and what other troops he had, to join the camp at Stirling. This was a necessary step of Government, to prevent the rebels from securing that post, or finding any way to advance southward; which if the Earl of Mar could have done before the Government was in condition to resist him, he would have most probably secured the city of Edinburgh, the want of which was the ruin of his whole design. Besides, this was the most secure situation for the Royal Army, which was then but weak. At first they had only four regiments of foot, upon the reduced establishment, consisting of 257 men to a regi-

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ment, and four regiments of dragoons, 200 men to a regiment; so that the forces at Stirling were only 1500 men.

This place being secured, Government immediately ordered the regiment of Dragoons belonging to the Earl of Stair, with two regiments of Foot which lay in the north of England, to march thither with all expedition.

At the same time, letters were sent over to Holland, requesting the 6000 men, which, by the treaty of guarantee, the Dutch were to send; and though they had accordingly ordered the Scottish battalions in their service to move towards the coasts, to be in readiness to embark for Great Britain, if occasion required, and two of them were on their march from Maastricht to Ipris, by the 10th of September; yet upon the repeated assurances the French ambassador had given them, on the part of his court, that the French King had no thought of breaking the treaty of Utrecht, by sending the Chevalier to England, they suspended their naval armament, and delayed sending over their forces till they were again demanded.

Some time before the encampment at Stirling, his Majesty sent orders to the Lords of Justiciary, to cause apprehend and secure some disaffected men in Scotland; and, at that time, Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, the Earls of Hume, Wigton, and Kinnoul, Lord Diskford, eldest son of the Earl of

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Seafeld, and Findlater, were apprehended, and sent prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh. The rest, contained in the list, retired to their lurking places, and some of them directly to their associates in the north.

On the 30th of August, the Act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, which Parliament had passed a few days before, received the royal assent. This Act being too long for insertion, I shall only transcribe those paragraphs which I deem necessary:—‘ That if any of his Majesty’s subjects of Great Britain, having lands or tenements in Scotland, in property or superiority, has been, or shall be, guilty of high treason, by keeping correspondence with the Pretender, in person, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, or with any person or persons they know to be employed by him, or by adhering to, or giving him any aid or comfort in this realm or elsewhere, every such offender who shall be thereof duely convicted and attainted, shall be lyable to the pains, penalties, and forfeitures, for high treason. And that all and every vassal or vassals in Scotland who shall continue peaceable, and in dutiful allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, holding lands or tenements of any such offender, who holds such lands or tenements immediately of the crown, shall be invested and seised, and are thereby enacted and ordained to hold the said lands or tenements

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of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in fee and heritage for ever, by such manner of holding as any such offender held such lands or tenements of the crown, at the time of the attainder of such offender; and that if any of these lands ly within any regality or constabulary in Scotland, they are thereby dissolved therefrom.

‘ And, in like manner, all and every tenant or tenants in Scotland, who shall continue peaceable, and in dutiful allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, bruiking and occupying any lands, mills, mines, woods, fishings, or tenements, as tenant or tenants, tacksman or tacksmen, from, and under, any such offender, shall, and are thereby ordained, to bruik and occupy all and every such lands; mills, mines, woods, fishings, and tenements, for the space of two years, or crops, from and after such attainder, freely, without payment of any rent, duty, or service, for the said two years, or crops.

‘ And it is further enacted, that if any subject of Great Britain, holding lands or tenements of a subject superiour in Scotland, has been, or shall be guilty of such high treason or treasons, as aforesaid, every such offender who shall be thereof duly convicted and attainted, shall be liable to the pains, penalties, and forfeitures, for high treason; and his lands or tenements, held of any subject superior in Scotland, shall recognise and return in-

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to the hands of the superiour, and the property shall be consolidated, with the superiority, in the same manner as if the lands or tenements had been, by the vassal, resigned into the hands of his superior, *ad perpetuam permanentiam*.

‘ And in case any tenant or tenants, tacksman or tacksmen, bruiking and occupying any lands, mines, mills, woods, fishings, or tenements, being guilty of high treason or treasons, as aforesaid, and shall thereof be duly convicted and attainted, the title by which all and every such tenant or tenants, tacksman or tacksmen, does bruik and occupy, as aforesaid, shall cease, and become void; and the lands, mines, mills, fishings, and tenements, so bruiked and occupied, together with the single, or life-rent escheat of such tenant or tenants, tacksman or tacksmen, shall return to, and be enjoyed and possessed by, the person or persons from or under whom such title is derived, respectively, who shall continue peaceable and dutiful to his Majesty, his heirs and successors.

‘ And, for preventing frauds, or collusion, in order to avoid this act, it is farther enacted, that if the superiors, vassals, or tenants, to whom the lands, mines, mills, woods, fishings, and tenements above-mentioned, are declared and ordained to belong, shall not, within six months, to be reckoned from the time of the attainder of the offenders, respectively obtain themselves infeft, (in

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manner expressed in the said act) or do diligence really, and without collusion, for attaining possession; in every such case, the forfeitures shall belong to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, provided always, that none of his Majesty's subjects, whether superiour, vassal, or tenant, shall have the benefit of this act, excepting such, who, being lawfully called out, or required to join with his Majesty's host, in opposition to the said Pretender, or his adherents, shall do the same; or who (not being so called out or required) shall continue peaceable, and dutiful to his Majesty, his heirs and successors.

‘ And whereas, there is reason to believe that several persons, intending to commit high treason or treasons, as aforesaid, have made taillzies, entails, and settlements of their estates, in favour of their children, or other heirs; conveyances, securities, or alienations of any estates or inheritances, made in Scotland, in the name of whatsoever person or persons, since the 1st day of August, 1714, or that shall be made there in time coming, by any person or persons who shall be convicted and attainted of any such high treason or treasons aforesaid, shall be, and they are hereby declared, void and null, to all intents and purposes; excepting such deeds, securities, and alienations, as have been made since the time aforesaid, or shall be made there in time coming, for just and onerous

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causes, the said onerous cause being always otherwise instructed than by the writings themselves, &c.'

No doubt this act was discouraging to the rebels, and kept many from joining them who wanted not inclination, but thought best to stand neutrals, in prospect of the doubtful event, till once they could discern to what side the scale would incline.

In a few days after this act was published, summonses were accordingly issued to all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, in Scotland, to appear at Edinburgh by a certain day, to find bail, as aforesaid. The principal persons summoned were, the Marquis of Huntley; the Earls of Seaforth, Carnwath, Winton, Southesk, Nithsdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Kinnoul, Panmure, Mareschal, Breadalbine; the Viscounts of Kenmure, Stormont, Kilsyth, Kingston, Strathallan; the Lords Rollo, Ogilvie, Drummond, Nairn, Glenorchy; Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck; Sir Duncan Campbell of Vochnill; Sir Donald M'Donald; Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre; Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn; Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon; Sir John M'Lean; Lieutenant-General George Hamilton; the Master of Stormount; the Master of Nairn; Messrs Alexander M'Kenzie of Fraserdale, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stuart of Appin, John Campbell of

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Actrabalder, William Murray jun. of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robison of Strawan; the Lairds of Mackemmon, Clanronald, Glengary, Keppoch; William Drummond, servant to Lord Drummond; Mr Seaton of Touch; Lieutenant Allan Cameron; Rob Roy, alias M'Gregor; Mr Stuart of Ard; Mr Francis Stuart, brother to the Earl of Murray; John Cameron of Lochiel; John Fullerton of Greenhall; M'Intosh, jun. of Borlam; James Malcolm; Henry Maule, brother to the Earl of Panmure; John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield; Colin Campbell of Glenderule; Graham of Bucklivy; George Hume of Whitefield; John Drummond, brother to Lord Drummond; Lyon of Auchterhouse; Colonel Balfour; the Master of Balfour; and Bethune of Balfour:—according to which citation, Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, surrendered himself on the 17th of September, and Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, upon the 20th, and both were, by order of the Lords of Justiciary, secured in the castle of Edinburgh, during his Majesty's pleasure. The rest were denounced and declared rebels,

Government had certain intelligence that the rebellion in Scotland was only part of the grand design; but that in England a more dangerous conspiracy was carrying on, which was to discover itself in a short time thereafter:—The Tories there had formed a resolution to support an inva-

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sion from abroad, likewise to raise a rebellion at home, and take arms for the Chevalier so soon as he should land in Britain; nay, the disaffection of the people had appeared so open at Bristol, Bath, Oxon, Exeter, and several other places, that they had avowed their readiness to take arms, if an opportunity offered, and had declared that such an occasion was expected by them. In some places they had gone so far as to provide ammunition, arms, horses, and men, to be in readiness whenever they should get the alarm; but, by early application of the suitable means, the mischief designed was effectually prevented. His Majesty, as empowered by the late Act of Parliament, caused lay hands on such of the conspirators as they had good information against; that, by their confinement, they might be rendered unable to prosecute their designs; and, on the 2d of September, Colonel Paul, one of the colonels of the guards, was committed to Newgate for high treason, the Chevalier's commission having been found in his pocket. Being detained some days, and frequently examined, he was afterwards dismissed, which occasioned a report of his making a discovery, and that the Government received from him a great part of the light that was given them into the train of this affair. But whether it was so or not, it is certain they proceeded afterwards more vigorously against them. For, on the 14th, the

titular Duke of Powis, a Roman Catholic, was committed to the Tower for high treason; and on the 21st, the day the Parliament adjourned, the Lords received a message from the King, for consent of the house to secure the Earl of Jersey, the Lords Duplin and Lansdown, on suspicion of favouring the invasion, which they readily granted, and the two latter were presently taken into custody, and the former a few days hereafter. That same day, Mr Secretary Stanhope acquainted the House, that he was commanded by the King to communicate to them, 'that his Majesty, having just cause to suspect that Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Edward Harvey, sen. of Combe, Thomas Forrester, jun., John Anstis, and Mr Corbet of Kynaston, are engaged in a design to support the intended invasion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them; and his Majesty desired the consent of this House, to his causing them to be committed and detained, if he shall judge it necessary to be so, in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament for empowering his Majesty to commit and detain such persons as he shall suspect are conspiring against his person and Government.' Hereupon, it was resolved, 'that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, returning the thanks of this House for his gracious message, and for his tender regard to the privileges of this House; and to desire that he will

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be pleased to give orders for the committing and detaining the several members named in the said message, pursuant to the Act of this Session of Parliament for that purpose.

Thereupon warrants were issued out for apprehending the six members before-mentioned. Messrs Harvey and Anstis, being then in town, were immediately secured. The former stabbed himself some few days after, but the wounds proved not to be mortal. Sir John Packington, being brought to London from his seat in Worcestershire, was examined before the council, where he behaved himself with becoming decency, and so clearly vindicated himself that he was honourably acquitted. Mr Corbet of Kynaston absented himself for some time, but afterwards surrendered. Sir William Wyndham, after being apprehended by his Majesty's messengers, at his seat in Somersetshire, got out of his house, by means of a back staircase, and made his escape; but did it in such a hurry that he was not able to secure his papers, which being seized by the messenger, and brought up for the inspection of the King and Council, a proclamation was published, offering a reward of £1000 to any that should take him. It was asserted, that upon the perusal of papers found in his possession, it evidently appeared that he was concerned in a conspiracy for aiding the rebellion, and promoting the intended invasion. About ten

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days after this proclamation was issued he surrendered himself, and being examined in presence of the Council, was committed to the Tower.

Mr Thomas Forster retired to Northumberland. It must be observed, that the grand design was formed at London, whence, as from a centre conveying life and vigour to all the circumjacent parts, it ramified through all Britain. To maintain this connection effectually, because communication by letters might lead to detection, several gentlemen, pretending they were on pleasure excursions, rode through the country, carrying intelligence, and managing the affairs of the disaffected. Among those thus employed were Colonel Oxburgh, Mr Nicholas Wogan, Mr Charles Wogan, and Mr James Talbot; a second class of agents consisted of Mr Clifton and Mr Beaumont, both gentlemen of Nottinghamshire, and Mr Burton, a clergyman of Derbyshire.

About the end of September, Lord Derwentwater, understanding that a warrant had been issued by the Secretary of State for his apprehension, and that the messengers charged with the execution of it had reached Durham, immediately went to the house of Mr B——n, in his neighbourhood, a Justice of the Peace. It is supposed he went thence to the house of one Richard Lambert, because more private and less suspected.

First public appearance of the

Mr Forster being also apprized of a warrant having been granted for his apprehension, went to the house of Mr Fenwick of Bywel, a gentleman who had given ample evidence of his attachment to the cause of treason. A meeting of the Jacobites of Northumberland was immediately convened in Fenwick's house, to deliberate upon what might be the best means of promoting the Chevalier's interest, and securing themselves. They boldly resolved to take arms, and openly avow their sentiments, deeming the present crisis very suitable for doing so. Accordingly, they agreed to assemble next morning, October 6th, at a place called Green Rig. Mr Forster, and about twenty gentlemen, met, but left the place of rendezvous immediately, considering it inconvenient, and proceeded to the summit of an adjoining hill, called Waterfalls, which commanded an extensive prospect of the circumjacent country, thereby enabling them to perceive the approach of friends or enemies.

While here they were joined by the Earl of Derwentwater, who came from his country seat at Dilston that morning, with a few friends, and all his servants, mounted upon excellent horses, and well armed. In passing through Corbridge, from Dilston Hall, they drew their swords. They halted at the seat of Mr Errington, where several gentlemen joined them, making the number which

Chevalier's adherents in England.

came to the Waterfalls, under the Earl, about sixty. After deliberating there some time they marched to a place called Plainfield.

Here they were joined by others, and went to Rothbury, a small market town, where they lay that night. Next morning, (7th October) their number still increasing, they marched to Warkworth, another market town, on the sea coast, strong, by its situation, famous, formerly, for a castle, the body of which still remains, and an ancient cell cut out of the solid rock. Upon the 8th (Saturday) Lord Widdrington joined them with thirty horses.

Upon Sunday morning, Mr Forster, now General, sent Mr Buxton, their chaplain, to Mr Jon, parson of the parish, with orders to pray for the Prince, as King, and, in the Litany, for Mary, Queen-mother, and all the dutiful branches of the Royal Family, and to omit the usual names King George, the Prince and Princess; but the parson declined this, and went to Newcastle to inform the Government; and Mr Buxton took possession of the church, said prayers, and preached.

On Monday, the 10th, they were joined by about forty horses from Scotland; and then General Forster did openly proclaim the Chevalier, King of Great Britain, &c. with sound of trumpet, and all formalities the circumstances of their situation would allow. On Thursday, the 14th, they

Progress of the Rebellion in England.

marched to Alnwick, where they were joined by more of their friends, and thence proceeded to Morpeth. In their march to this town, they were joined by seventy gentlemen and horses from the borders, so that, at their entering, they were 300 strong; all cavalry, for they would receive no foot, having no arms, otherwise their number would have been very great.

About the time they took arms, General Forster engaged one Launcelot Errington, master of a ship at Newcastle, to surprise and seize the castle of Holy Island, which is a small fort, guarded by a few soldiers, sent weekly from the garrison of Berwick. Accordingly, Mr Errington and his accomplices took possession of the castle, from which he made signals to his friends at Warkworth, who, it appears, did not observe them, and, before he could be supplied with men and provisions, he was dispossessed of the place; for, next day, the governor of Berwick sent thirty men of the garrison, and fifty of the inhabitants, well armed, who, marching over the sands, at low water, attacked the fort, and took it sword in hand. Errington, in his attempt to escape, received a shot in the thigh, and, with several others, was taken prisoner to Berwick, from which, with his brother, he escaped in disguise.

The design of taking this fort was, to give signals to any ship that seemed to make to that coast,

to land soldiers and stores from abroad. For, by the assurances they had from their friends beyond seas, they expected them to land there; but they came not, until they were gone for Scotland. Two ships appeared, and made their signals, but receiving no answer, they continued their course northward.

General Forster, having heard of Errington's success, anticipated the easy capture of Newcastle. Before going thither, Mr Buxton, the clergyman, assuming the office of herald, proclaimed the Chevalier. They had a party that went and seized the post at Fulton-bridge; and one Thomas Gibson, a blacksmith, at Newcastle, whom they detained as a spy.

Hearing that their friends had not yet secured that town, they marched to Hexham, where they could keep a communication with the borders, and their friends in Lancashire. Here they were joined by some more from Scotland; and then they marched to a heath adjoining to Dilston, the seat of the Earl of Derwentwater, where they halted.

The magistrates of Newcastle, and the Deputy Lieutenants, having received intelligence of General Forster's design to surprise that town, took every precaution necessary for their own safety, by raising men, and imprisoning all suspected persons. They built up all the gates of the city, except the gate on the bridge and the rampart-gate,

Progress of the Rebellion in England.

where they placed two pieces of cannon. The militia were also ordered in to assist in defending the city.

The Earl of Scarborough, Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, repaired to Newcastle, and the loyal gentlemen of the surrounding country, imitating his Lordship's example, mounted their tenants, furnishing them with arms, and went thither also. Hotham's regiment of foot, on the 9th October, and Lord Cobham's regiment of dragoons, on the 12th, arrived in that city, to the unspeakable joy of the inhabitants, who soon found themselves in a state of security.

General Forster, understanding that these precautions had been taken, abandoned his project, and returned to Hexham. He seized all the horses, arms, &c. which he could find, and wrote to the Earl of Mar for assistance.

The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Middlesex and Nottingham, received a letter from Lord Townshend, requiring his Grace, ' furthwith to cause the whole militia within his Lieutenancy to be put into such a posture, as to be in readiness to meet upon the first orders; and also to give the necessary directions to the proper officers of militia, furthwith to seize, with the assistance of a constable, the persons and arms of all Papists, non-jurors, or other persons he had reason to suspect to be disaffected to his Ma-

Progress of the Rebellion in England.

esty and his Government, and guilty of aiding insurrections and invasion,' &c.

Next day, September the 22d, the Duke of Newcastle called together the Deputy Lieutenants of the county of Middlesex, and having communicated to them the order of Council, his Grace, in a speech full of zeal for his King and country, excited and urged them by the most forcible arguments, to exert themselves vigorously 'on this occasion, in his Majesty's service, prove their zeal for his person and Government, and be very exact in following the directions given them.' After which, it was ordered that 'the several Deputy Lieutenants in their respective divisions and allotments, do take care that the persons, horses, and arms, of all Papists, non-jurors, and others, whom they had just reason to suspect of being disaffected to his Majesty's person and Government, to be forthwith seized and secured, pursuant to the above order and letter.'

In obedience to this, they acted with exemplary vigour, and unwearied application, holding their assemblies, during the remaining part of September, and all the month of October, generally once, and sometimes twice, a-day. In which time, upwards of eight hundred disaffected and suspected persons were taken and brought before the Lieutenancy, who, upon examination, committed such as appeared most criminal and dangerous, to the

Progress of the Rebellion in England.

prisons in London and Westminster; and either discharged, or admitted others to bail, which tended not a little to keep the peace of those populous cities.

A part of Lumley's regiment of horse, and the regiments of foot, of Stanwick and Pocock, had been, for some time, quartered in Bristol, notwithstanding which, it was discovered that the enemy were resolved to surprise it, and make it a place of arms. The Earl of Berkely, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and Governor of that city, repaired thither, and took all the necessary precautions to secure that important town. About the beginning of October he was joined by Colonel Chudleigh's regiment of foot; at the same time Lord Windsor's regiment of horse, and Rich's dragoons, under the command of General Wade, marched to Bath, to secure that place, and to be at hand to succour the troops at Bristol. Upon the General's arrival at Bath, with the cavalry, he took the following gentlemen prisoners:—Colonel Lansdown, Captain Doyle, Captain Sinclair, Sir George Brown, Messrs Makarty, Dun, M'Donnel, and William Hebbort, who were all sent to London; and, at the same time, 200 horses, the property of the rebels.

The King's officers seized, here, eleven chests of fire arms, a hogshhead of swords, one of cartouches, three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and some moulds for the casting of cannon,

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Major-General Piper, with a regiment of dragoons, was despatched to Oxford to seize Colonel Owen, with some others who had taken refuge there, and were to have acted in conjunction with those of Bristol and Bath. The General entered the town by a feint, bending his march as it were towards Bath or Bristol. But being come within eight miles of Oxford, instead of resting he marched all night, and about four in the morning he entered the city at the time the watch broke up and the gates were opened. Having secured all the avenues and public houses of note, he sent for the Mayor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, who promised to assist him, he then ordered a search to be made for the persons he came for. Colonel Owen, upon the alarm, jumped over a wall, in his night-gown, and made his escape. The following gentlemen were apprehended, Messrs. Gordon, Kerr, Dorrel, Wilson, Spelman, Lloyd, Kelly, White, Burke, Thomas Dalsgrave, John Clark, Thomas Todd, William Hughes, Captain Halstead, and one disguised as a footman, in the linings of whose coat were found letters from the enemy at Bristol and Bath, to their friends at Oxford. They also seized two horses, well caparisoned, belonging to Colonel Owen, which were said to have formerly been the Duke of Ormond's. Soon after, the General went out with his prisoners, when tu-

Duke of Argyle appointed General of the forces in Scotland;

mults and riots ensued to an alarming height, during which the Chevalier was proclaimed in the market-place. Government instantly despatched the regiment of Handyside, which reduced the place to order. The people of Cornwall, about this period, were so ripe for rebellion, that seven or eight individuals proclaimed the Chevalier at St. Columbe. Two of them were seized by a neighbouring magistrate, and a reward of one hundred pounds each was offered for the rest by Government.

This commotion gave Government some ground to suspect a design upon Plymouth, but precautions being speedily taken it was prevented.

The Duke of Argyle, who formerly was Commander-in-chief of all the land-forces in Scotland, was now made General of His Majesty's army. His interest in the Western Highlands, his steady zeal for the Protestant succession in the family of Hanover, and his qualifications for that eminent situation, justified His Majesty's choice. The zeal of his noble family for the reformation animated the people to take arms under his Grace in defence of the very same cause for which two of his worthy ancestors had suffered.

James Oglethorpe His Grace having waited on the King on the 8th of September, received his final instructions on the 9th, and departed to Scotland, followed soon after by the Duke of Roxburgh, the Mar-

and his vigorous conduct in that situation.

quisses of Annandale and Tweeddale, the Earls of Selkirk, Loudon, Rothes, Haddington, Islay, and Forfar, the Lords Torpichen and Belhaven, Sir David Dalrymple His Majesty's Advocate, Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall, and others who were then attending the Parliament. These, observing the melancholy state of affairs in Scotland, took this opportunity to manifest their loyalty to their Sovereign King George, and their honest zeal for the prosperity and peace of their native country.

About this time, the Earl of Sutherland offered his services to raise the clans in the most northern shires of which he had been lately made Lord Lieutenant. His offer was accepted, and the Queensborough man-of-war was appointed to carry his Lordship thither, with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and orders to receive the necessary supplies of these things from Edinburgh castle.

His Lordship landed at Leith on the 21st of September, and, having ordered arms and ammunition to be sent after him, sailed northward about four days thereafter.

The Duke of Argyle, attended by several persons of distinction, arrived at Edinburgh on the 14th. Next day, he went up to the castle, viewed the garrison, fortifications, and magazines, and, having appointed Brigadier-General Grant Cap-

Vigorous conduct of the Duke of Argyle.

tain of the castle, till the arrival of Brigadier Preston, who succeeded Colonel Stewart as Deputy-governor, ordered about thirty cart-loads of arms and ammunition to be conveyed to Stirling and Glasgow, to arm the inhabitants.

Next day, his Grace went to Stirling, accompanied by the Duke of Roxburgh, the Earl of Haddington, and several other officers and gentlemen of distinction. He then proceeded to the camp, and reviewed the army, which did not exceed eighteen hundred and forty men, the regiments of Carpenter and Kerr included.

To encourage the zeal of the people, and that they might act lawfully, and by authority, his Grace issued the following letter:—

‘JOHN, DUKE of ARGYLE, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty’s forces in North Britain, to the Lord Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants, and in their absence to the well-affected Heritors of the Western and Southern Shires of Scotland, and in particular to the Justices of the Peace, Magistrates of Burrows, and other Judges and Officers, civil and military;

‘WHEREAS, great numbers of well-affected Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, in the Southern and Western Shires of Scotland, being in readiness to march to such places as shall be appointed, may be desirous to have a particular order to that effect: These are, therefore, in His Majesty’s name, and by His authority, requiring, ordering, and authorising the Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, or, in their absence, all well-affected Heritors, and each of them, in the Western and South-

Vigorous conduct of the Duke of Argyle.

ern Shires aforesaid, to march forthwith, with their fencible men, with their best arms and what ammunition they have, with forty days' provision towards Glasgow, and to quarter there or in the adjacent towns or villages on the north side of the river Clyde, in order to assist in opposing and extinguishing the rebellion now raised against our laws, liberties, and the Protestant religion.

' Given at the camp at Stirling, the 2d of October, 1715.

(Signed)

ARGYLE.

The Duke went about to augment his forces by filling up the companies to fifty men each, and two new companies to each regiment, but as the officers, at least no great number, could be spared from duty to the recruiting service, the levies went on but slowly in this manner; so that his Grace was obliged to issue a second order to the noblemen and gentlemen, pressing them to assist in the levies, and promising that their services in that affair should be faithfully reported to His Majesty; at the same time offering forty shillings to every private man that should enlist, with a promise of their discharge, on two months' notice being given to their officer, and to have a pass to return to their several places of abode, within six months after the suppression of the rebellion, His Majesty resigning any claim to their farther services.

His Grace then reported the state of the country to His Majesty, and solicited supplies suitable to the occasion. But the Ministry remained firm.

I Progress of the rebel army.

ly resolved not to part with any of the forces then in England, and only ordered Evans' regiment of dragoons, with Clayton and Wightman's regiment of foot, to be sent from Ireland to the assistance of his Grace, with all expedition. They fortunately joined the royal army before the battle of Dunblane.

The Earl of March, with about 1000 followers, marched from Maulin to Logarret, a small market town, and thence to Dunkeld, eighteen miles from Perth, which he appointed his head-quarters. While here, his force was considerably augmented by the junction of 2000 men, under the Marquis of Tullibardin; 1400, under the Duke of Athol; 500 belonging to the Earl of Breadalbin, commanded by Campbell of Glenderule, Campbell of Glenlyon, John Campbell, his chamberlain, and several others.

Finding themselves straitened, they resolved to extend their quarters, and the Earl of Mar having intelligence that the royal army were encamped at Stirling to secure that pass, and that the Earl of Rothes, with the gentlemen in Fife who were in arms for King George, were advancing to take possession of Perth, which commands the passage over the Tay; he instantly resolved to prevent them, and detached Mr John Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, with 200 cavalry, to take possession of that place, which he did upon the 18th

Progress of the rebel army—seizure of Perth.

of September. He was followed by General Hamilton, at the head of 2000 men, and re-enforced, on the 28th, by 3000 more, and the Earl of Mar himself.

The Earl of Rothes being apprized of the Earl of Mar's having taken possession of Perth, and his Lordship being in no condition to attack them, retired to Lesly, and sent information to the Duke of Argyle.

A few days before Colonel Hay came to Perth, the Duke of Athol had sent, as it seemed, 150 men to support the inhabitants against any attempt. It, however, appeared that their intention was to betray them.

When the inhabitants, under the command of Provost Austin, and the late Provost, Robertson, to the amount of 458, came to the market-place, in order to resist Colonel Hay, these supplies of the Duke of Athol, instead of rendering the assistance promised, joined the troops under Colonel Hay.

As the seizure of Perth was a great disappointment to Government, so it was of singular advantage to the Earl of Mar and his party. By it he not only secured all the country behind him, but also became master of all the lowlands on the eastern shore of Scotland, north of the Tay, containing the fruitful provinces of Angus, the Carse of Gowrie, Mearns, Murray, Aberdeen, and Banff.

Re-inforcements received by the rebel army.

He had also the complete command of Fifeshire, which, for the convenience of the sea-coast, proved the most advantageous to him of any of the shires on that side of the Forth. Thus, all communication was cut off betwixt His Majesty's forces in the south and those in the north, who were neither able to act on the offensive, nor flee from the enemy; The ordinary posts were all stopped; all the public money fell into the hands of the Earl of Mar, who granted receipts for it in the name of King James the VIII. and the different gentlemen were assessed, and obliged to comply with his demands, on pain of military execution. The rebel army was, at this time, very formidable, 12,523 strong, making Perthshire their head-quarters.

The very same day on which the Earl of Mar entered Perth, Mr James Murray, second son to the Viscount Stormount, arrived incog. at Edinburgh from France, by way of England, and crossing the Forth at Newhaven, got over to Fife, and proceeded thence to Perth. His arrival was hailed with joy. Having delivered to the Earl of Mar the letters he had brought from the Prince Charles, he then produced such authorities as made it appear that he was appointed Secretary of State for the affairs of Scotland.

He gave them assurances of a speedy and powerful assistance from France, and of the King's

Promised assistance from France.

determination to come over immediately to assist them. He also brought a patent creating the Earl of Mar a Duke, with the title of Duke of Mar, Marquis of Stirling, and Earl of Alloa. Had their affairs abroad continued in the same flourishing condition, as when Mr Murray left the court of St. Germain's, it is probable they might quickly have seen the performance of these assurances. For about that time there were loading twelve large ships of war, and several frigates, with vast quantities of ammunition, small arms, a train of artillery, mortars, shells, and balls, with generals, officers, soldiers, and volunteers in the ports of Havre de Grace, St. Maloes, and other places on the coast of France.

By letters received from these places, we are enabled to subjoin a particular list of arms, ammunition, &c. designed for the Earl of Mar:—

12,000 musquets, with bayonets and cartouches,
6,000 cartouches and bayonets,
18,000 swords, and 2,000 halberts and half-pikes,
12 brass field pieces, with carriages,
10 large brass cannons, for battery,
40 pieces of iron guns, with implements for the gunners,
4000 barrels of gun-powder,
300 tons of lead, iron, balls, and shells,
And, 1,861 men, including officers.

SHIPS AT ST MALOES:—The Archangel, a large privateer
of 40 guns, 300 men, with equipage for the general officers,

Success of the rebels at Inverlochy,

The Furieux, a frigate of 36 guns,

The Cheval Marine, of 20 guns,

The Tambour, of 24 guns,

Two large transports, with cannon and bombs, at Havre de Grace,

Eight large transports at Dieppe,

Two English-built ships, laden with arms and ammunition.

Government having notice of these preparations, made remonstrances by His Majesty's ambassador, the Earl of Stair, to the Regent, and backed them with the appearance of Sir George Byng upon the French coast, which obliged them to re-land these stores, and the party never reaped any benefit from them, except what they obtained from a few ships which escaped clandestinely. The Earl of Mar, however, having received assurances of support, began to fortify Perth, and for that purpose, brought 14 pieces of cannon from Dundee and Dunnottar castle. He likewise sent parties to several places to seize what arms and ammunition they could find. Nor were the other chiefs inactive; for on the 17th of September, a strong party of the clans, principally the M'Donalds, M'Leans, and Camerons, attempted to surprise the garrison of Inverlochy, and succeeded so far as to take two redoubts near the garrison, sword in hand. In one of these advanced redoubts they took a lieutenant and twenty men, and in the other a serjeant and five men, but the

and on the coast of Fife.

main garrison being on guard, they durst not attack them, but marched for Argyle-shire. On the 5th of October, the Laird of Barlam, uncle to the Laird of M'Intosh, known by the name of Brigadier M'Intosh, joined the Earl of Mar, with 500 Highlanders, belonging to his nephew. The Brigadier had served abroad, and maintained the character of an intrepid and experienced officer; his followers were the most resolute and best armed of any that composed the army.

About the beginning of October, the Earl of Mar having intelligence that a quantity of arms had been delivered out of the castle of Edinburgh, and shipped at Leith, for the use of the Earl of Sutherland, who intended to raise his followers at Dunrobin, in the rear of the Earl; resolved to seize them, as a seasonable supply to himself, and a disappointment to the designs of the Earl of Sutherland.

Several occurrences favoured the Earl of Mar's undertaking; among others the following:—the wind blew N. E. causing what is usually termed a foul sea in the offing of Leith. The master of the vessel, which belonged to some merchants in Burntisland, at that time the weather-shore, weighed his anchor, and stood over to the shore of Fife, near that town. The Earl of Mar, apprized of the situation of the vessel, instantly despatched five hundred cavalry, each with a foot soldier be-

Patriotic conduct of the citizens of Glasgow.

hind. This detachment arrived at Burntisland in the middle of the night. The foot soldiers having dismounted, entered the town, and to prevent all communication betwixt the shore and the vessel, seized all the boats in the harbour; while the cavalry surrounded the town, to prevent the inhabitants from alarming any of the towns on the coast. Having seized all the boats, the commanding officer sent out about one hundred and twenty of his men in these boats to the ship, which they boarded without any opposition. They attempted to bring her into the harbour, but finding that the tide was not suitable, they filled their boats with her stores, landed them, and sent them immediately to Perth.

The Duke of Argyle had no intelligence of this till the following day. The Earl of Mar fearing he would intercept the carriages with the stores before they reached Perth, caused a report to be circulated, that he intended to protect them with 6,000 men, which he would send round by Alloa; this rumour had the desired effect, for the Duke of Argyle did not think it prudent to hazard any part of his army in an endeavour to capture that booty.

In compliance with the Duke of Argyle's request, the city of Glasgow sent three battalions of able-bodied men, well accoutred, to Stirling. The first, on the 17th, the second on the 18th,

Patriotic conduct of the citizens of Glasgow.

and the third on the 19th of September, making ten companies, with a captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, and a drummer to each company, with six standards. They amounted to seven hundred men, under the command of the Lord Provost, on whose arrival at Stirling the Magistrates received the following letter from the Duke of Argyle:—

‘GENTLEMEN,

‘I return you most hearty thanks, and shall be sure, as it is my duty, to represent your great zeal and faithful service to His Majesty, by an express to-morrow morning. At present I will not insist upon any greater number; but desire you will, with the greatest despatch, inform all His Majesty’s friends in the west country, that I think it absolutely necessary for His Majesty’s service, that all the fencible men should draw together at Glasgow, and be ready to march as I shall acquaint them His Majesty’s service requires. I am, most faithfully, your humble servant,

(Signed)

ARGYLE.’

And, about the same time, they received the following letter from the Home Secretary, Lord Townshend:—

‘*Whitehall, 24th September, 1715.*

‘MY LORD,

‘The Duke of Argyle having, by his letter of the 18th inst., to Mr Secretary Stanhope, acquainted him with the city of Glasgow having sent 700 men of their own volunteers to join his Grace at the camp at Stirling, and this having been communicated to His Majesty, I have received orders to return the city

Patriotism of the inhabitants

thanks for this new demonstration of their zeal for His Majesty's service; and to assure them, that in all their concerns they may depend on His Majesty's countenance and favor. It is, with pleasure that I obey His Majesty's command, which your Lordship will be pleased to communicate to the Magistrates and city: and believe me to be, with great truth,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

TOWNSHEND.

The city of Glasgow, agreeable to promise, defrayed the expense of the abovementioned regiment at Stirling, for the space of ten weeks, and prevailed upon Colonel Blackadder to accept of the office of colonel, in conjunction with the Lord Provost, and Mr Bruce, younger of Kennet, to be their Major.

On the receipt of these letters from the Duke of Argyle, expresses were sent to all the well-affected gentlemen in the west, stating that his Grace thought it absolutely necessary for the safety of the country, that all their fencible men should assemble in arms at Glasgow. This was immediately answered, by great numbers flocking thither, eager to assist in the defence of their country and its constitution. Hamilton furnished 70 volunteers, under the command of John Muirhead, one of the magistrates; Strathaven, 60, under the command of William Hamilton, of Overton, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and William Craig of

Netherfield Dyke, and other towns proportionally.

On Sabbath, the 18th September, two gentlemen came to Stirling from Glasgow, representing the danger of the city, from the rapid approach of the enemy in vast force, who intended to surprise the city before sufficient force could be mustered for its protection. The alarm so animated the people, that, on Monday the 19th of September, they arose at sun-rise, and, in presence of the Earl of Kilmarnock cheerfully offered to march forthwith to Glasgow, and accordingly 220 men marched thither with the utmost alacrity, where they were received with the greatest friendship. Next day, the Earl of Kilmarnock came with 130 men, whose presence invigorated the inhabitants of the city. They immediately entered upon duty, keeping watch night and day until Saturday, the 1st of October.

The Earl of Kilmarnock received a letter from the Duke of Argyle, desiring that the volunteers of the west country would march towards the Highlands, and take up in garrison the houses of Drummykill, Gartartan, and Cardross. In order to curb the insolence of Rob Roy and the M'Grigors, the house of Gartartan was assigned to the volunteers of Kilmarnock; Cardross, to Kilwinning and Stevenston; and Drummykill to those of Air.

Garrisons formed in the Highlands

They, on Sunday, the 2d of October, marched toward their respective garrisons, with the greatest resolution, notwithstanding that three alarms were brought by expresses from the country, notifying that a considerable body of the enemy were within four or five miles of the city. The three garrisons marched in a body for their mutual security, the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Master of Ross, with several gentlemen and half-pay officers, to the number of 60, along with them, for their encouragement. That night they arrived at Drymen, where they found very bad entertainment, being a very disaffected and malignant place, and having information that 600 of the MacGregors were lying within three miles of that place, they placed strong guards, and lay under arms all night.

On Monday, the 3d of October, they marched to Gartartan, the Earl of Kilmarnock, with 12 horses accompanying them, and having possessed themselves of the house, under the direction of Captain Charles Stuart of Kirkwood, and Lieutenant Nelson of Carcaffie, two half-pay officers, the Earl returned to Glasgow.

This was the most dangerous of the garrisons, on account of the slenderness of the house, and its vicinity to the territory of the MacGregors, and of its being the only pass by which the enemy could penetrate into the west and south country. All the other passes and fordable places of

Patriotism of the Western Districts of Scotland.

the Forth, between this and Stirling, being guarded by order of the Duke of Argyle. They continued here until the 13th of October, and were at great expense, the people taking every advantage of them, exacting double rates for their provisions. At length they were relieved by a party of the Stirlingshire militia; and returned to Glasgow, where remaining until the 21st of November, they were honourably dismissed.

The same day these expresses arrived at Kilmarnock, the town of Greenock had letters from the Duke of Argyle, with orders to raise their militia; desiring, likewise, that such as were already in arms would speedily repair to the camp at Stirling. Next day, the 19th of September, the Greenock companies were assembled. Lady Greenock told them that 'the Protestant religion, their laws, and liberties, lives, and all that was dear to them, as men and Christians, as well as His Majesty King George, and the Protestant succession, were all in hazard by that unnatural rebellion.' She was seconded by the minister, and gentlemen present. Eighty-four of the men readily offered themselves to serve the Government for forty days; and next day embarked for Glasgow, when they were joined by eight more from Carse-dyke.

On the 27th, they marched to Kilsyth, and, on the 29th, to Stirling, where they were reviewed

Patriotism of the inhabitants

manner, threaten the Government, I have not thought it safe to trust entirely to the number of troops that are at present in this country, and, therefore, have called for the assistance of the well affected burroughs, first judging they might more easily come out than the country, because of the harvest.

‘Your Lord Lieutenant not being yet come down to give orders for drawing out such other of the well affected people as should be thought necessary, and I being convinced of your zeal and good inclinations to serve our King and country, and looking upon you as my particular friend, I apply to you on this occasion, and desire you would forthwith come to Stirling, with what number of well armed men you can get together, to join the King’s regular forces. This will be of infinite service to His Majesty, and will not fail to be acknowledged as such.

‘Since the King’s armies are gathering together, it will be highly for His Majesty’s service, that all the well affected men in your country, that are armed, should hold themselves in readiness to march, and even to begin to assemble. Though your number of men be not, at first, to your wish, yet you may march what you can get together, and they may still be increasing, as the necessity of affairs requires. I am,

SIR,

Your most faithful and obedient Servant,

ARGYLE.

Upon receipt of this letter, Craigdarroch acquainted the gentlemen and people therewith, and collected what men he could for His Majesty’s service.

On the 22d of September, sixty men from the parishes of Glencairn and Temror, marched to

of the Southern and Western Districts of Scotland.

Keir Moss, under the command of John Gibson of Auchenchain, where the people of the neighbouring parishes were assembled, all completely equipped, with Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, James Grierson of Capinoch, John Dalrymple of Waterside, Thomas Hunter of Bateford, and several other gentlemen, and ministers, of these parishes.

Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, in an animated speech, promised to such of them as were his own tenants, to defray the expence of their going and coming, and give each of them eight-pence per diem, while they were encamped at Stirling. The Provost of Dumfries, attended by two of the baillies, acquainted Craigdarroch that they were raising 2 hundred men, to join the Duke of Argyle. In a few days thereafter, they had notice of the motions of the disaffected gentlemen in their own country, whereof they afterwards informed his Grace, which caused them to alter their resolution.

Next day, Craigdarroch and his men set off to Stirling, where they remained eight weeks, doing duty as the regular troops in the castle, according to the General's orders.

By this time the Duke of Douglas had three hundred men ready, under the command of Dr. Fulton; James Douglas, of Hezleside, William Renton, collector of excise for Inverary, George Lockhart, Thomas French, and John Lewars,

Information received of a design

captains; John Wharsie, James Lockhart, Daniel Weir, James Livingstone, Andrew Porteous, and Nathaniel Stevenson, lieutenants: on the 27th, one hundred marched to Stirling, and arrived on the evening of the same day at Carluke.

The other divisions would have arrived on the two following days; but, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions at Stirling, the Duke of Argyll ordered them to canton on the north side of Clyde, till farther orders.

The Duke of Douglas, with the Honourable Archibald Douglas of Cavers, Sir James Carmichael, Sir James Lockhart of Falside, Baronets; the Laird of Lamington, and other gentlemen of the upper ward of Clydesdale, departed to join the camp at Stirling, on the 29th of September.

His Majesty's friends every where continued vigilant:—on the 26th of September, a party of the Earl of Mar's army, when proceeding to Stirling, were prevented, and put to flight, by a party of the Scots Greys, under the Earl of Rothes. Sir Thomas Bruce of Kinross was taken prisoner to Stirling.

The Viscount of Kenmure, about this time, received a commission from the Earl of Mar to muster adherents in the south of Scotland, and in Northumberland. Several of the nobility and gentry instantly repaired to the borders to join him. They were observed, however, by some of their neighbours:—on Saturday, the 8th of October,

to surprize the town of Dumfries.

when the people of Dumfries were assembled for divine worship, Mr Gilchrist, one of the magistrates, received a letter from a friend, dated Locherbridge Hill, informing him that the Jacobites intended to take the town next day, during the sacrament; the patriotic zeal of the inhabitants, however, kept pace with the assiduity of the rebels; on Monday, the 10th, the inhabitants of Torthorrald and Tinwald armed themselves, and marched to Locherbridge Hill, from whence they sent an express to Dumfries, offering their services, when required. On Tuesday, 11th October, an express from Lord Justice Clerk arrived to Mr Robert Corbett, Provost of Dumfries:—

Edinburgh, October 8th, 1715.

* SIR,—Having good information that there is a design framed of raising a rebellion, in the southern parts of Scotland, against His Majesty, I send this express to advise you thereof, that you may be upon your guard: for, by what I can rely upon, their first attempt is to be suddenly upon your town.

I heartily wish you may escape their intended visit.

I am, SIR,

Your well wisher, and humble Servant,

A. D. COCKBURN.

This letter removed all doubts concerning the design to surprize Dumfries. Understanding that there was a rendezvous of the fencibles that day,

Stratagem of the Jacobites near Dumfries.

11th October, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Bailey John Gilchrist, William Craik, John Neilson, and James Gordon, writer, went thither, and requested those assembled to march into the town, for its defence, that night. Accordingly, next day a considerable body of men from the parishes in Nithsdale and Galloway, well armed and accoutred, arrived. The Jacobites, to prevent the town of Dumfries from being provided with a competent number of men on this occasion, after the assemblage at Locherbridge Hill, on the 12th of October, sent messengers, as from authority, assuring the people, that there was a mistake in the intimation;—that the meeting would not be till the 13th, if at all. By which rumour, many were deceived, and did not come when the town was in danger. Several gentlemen, however, having authentic information, came to the rendezvous on Wednesday, among whom was Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall. He ordered his servants to follow him with seventeen stand of arms, for the use of his own militia, which he had sent to Brade Chapel; Viscount Kenmure and the Earl of Carnwath, understanding this, came clandestinely that morning and seized them.

After this success, being joined by several of their friends, they proceeded towards Moffat, to meet the Earl of Winton, who, with a party of about seventy, was on his march thither. They

Design to surprise Dumfries abandoned.

met, accordingly, and rested there that night. The inhabitants of the town of Dumfries, making every necessary preparation for their own defence, issued orders to search all travellers. The Right Hon. Simon, Lord Lovat, returning from abroad, arrived there with five of his servants, and, not being known, was detained until he gave them satisfying evidences of his affection towards His Majesty and Government.

It appears, however, that the Earl of Carnwath and Viscount Kenmure were not apprised of the state of Dumfries, for that same forenoon they marched directly to it; and at two o'clock, when within a mile and a half of it, their eyes were speedily opened.

James Robson, servant to a neighbouring gentleman, (whose son was with them) told them, that the town was in readiness to give them a warm reception. After a consultation, they retired to Lochmaben, where they took Mr Pater-son, one of the baillies of Dumfries, Mr Hunter, surgeon, and Mr Johnstone, postmaster there, prisoners, who had been sent out to reconnoitre them. They treated their prisoners civilly, and, upon the town's setting at liberty three of their friends who had been incarcerated as suspected Jacobites, dismissed them next day. On Friday they marched to Ecclefechan, and from thence, on Saturday, to Langholme, their number being

The Earl of Mar evades the vigilance

increased to a hundred and eighty; they proceeded, on the 16th, to Hawick, where they proclaimed the Chevalier.

The Northumberland gentlemen having sent over to the Earl of Mar for a body of foot, six regiments were marched to the coast of Fife, in order to cross the Frith of Forth, and land in Lothian. They were escorted by a party of horse, commanded by Sir John Erskine of Alva, who made several countermarches to amuse the ships in the Roads.

To prevent all suspicion, the Earl of Mar caused another body to march to Burntisland, where he assembled a fleet of transports, under the pretence of embarking. The admiral on the Leith station understanding this, (of which the Earl did not design he should be ignorant,) ordered the ships to man their boats, slip their cables, and set in for the town. The Highlanders, pretending to be much afraid, re-landed, and, having raised a battery, planting some cannon on the extremity of the harbour, exchanged shots with the ships, though without any damage on either side. Nor did this piece of policy fail them in their grand design: for, while some of them amused the ships, as if they would cross above Leith, their main body, consisting of 2500 men, under the command of Brigadier M'Intosh of Barlam, came down to the shore, during the night, in order to embark at

of the ships in Leith Roads, and crosses the Firth.

Pittenween, Crail, the Ely, and other parts on that coast. On Wednesday, the 12th of October, some of them embarked in open boats, steering their course to the south shore.

The ships had now the mortification of discovering their mistake; they perceived that the main body had embarked twelve miles lower, and had now reached the middle of the channel. They had chosen such a time of the tide, and it being also a dead calm, it was impossible for the men-of-war to give them chase; however, they manned their boats, and, rowing towards the shore, fell in with one boat, containing forty men, whom they made prisoners, and carried into Leith. Others were forced back to the Fife side. The rest of this detachment, about 1600, landed, in the night time, at North Berwick, Aberlady, Gallon, and other places, and quartered next night at Haddington. Next morning they prepared to march towards the borders, but suddenly changed their resolution, and proceeded to Edinburgh.

As soon as John Campbell, then Provost, had notice of their landing, he ordered the city guards, the trained bands, new levies, and associate volunteers, to their respective posts. On Friday, the 14th, his Lordship sent an express to the Duke of Argyle, apprising him of the rebels being in Haddington, and requesting a detachment of the regular troops, for the support of the city. The Duke

The rebels take possession of Leith

immediately despatched 200 foot, (mounted on country horses,) with 300 cavalry, who arrived at the west port, that night, about ten o'clock.

Brigadier M'Intosh advanced as far as Jock's Lodge; but none coming from the city to join him, and hearing of the approach of the Duke of Argyle, he halted; and, calling a council, resolved to go to Leith, which they entered without any resistance. After making themselves masters of the guard, they opened the doors of the Tolbooth, and rescued those that were taken when attempting to cross the Forth. Then entering the custom-house, they seized a considerable quantity of provisions, and brandy; after which, they took possession of the citadel, the ruins of an old fort raised in Oliver Cromwell's time, to guard the port of Leith. They also went on board the ships in the harbour, and seized several pieces of ordnance, with powder and ball; planted some cannon at all the ports, and upon the ramparts, and barricaded the most accessible places with beams, carts filled with stones, earth, and other materials.

On Saturday, the 15th, the Duke of Argyle, with his 300 cavalry, 200 infantry, and about 600 militia, marched towards the citadel, and, having posted the dragoons upon the north-east side, and the foot upon the south-east, he, with Generals Evans, and Wightman, Colonel Deburgay, &c. went down betwixt the fort and the sea, to recon-

but speedily abandon it.

noitre where it might be most easily attacked. His Grace having summoned the rebels to lay down their arms, and surrender, upon pain of high treason, declared, that if they obliged him to force them, he would give no quarter. He was answered by a Highland laird, named Kinackin, 'that as to surrendering, they did not understand the word; that they would neither take nor give quarter; and if he was able to force them he might try his hand.'

The Duke, having viewed their situation, found they could not be attacked without artillery. The walls were so high, the horse could be of no use in case of an assault; and his foot were by no means to be trusted. He, therefore, returned to Edinburgh to prepare more effectual means for forcing their intrenchments.

Old M'Intosh, seeing no appearance of aid from their friends in Edinburgh, and being informed of the Duke of Argyle's intention to attack them with artillery that night, abandoned the place about nine o'clock, taking advantage of the ebb tide, and marched off by the head of the pier, on the sands, eastward to Seaton House, belonging to the Earl of Wintoun, leaving behind them about forty men who had made too free with the brandy they found in the custom-house; also some baggage and ammunition, which were taken by a detachment under the command of Colonel De-

The rebels fortify Seaton House,

burgay. Before leaving Leith, they sent out a boat with despatches for the Earl of Mar, acquainting him with their proceedings.

The Duke, having, that morning, got notice of their abandoning Leith, and had taken possession of Seaton House, sent an express to Stirling for four gunners, two bombardiers, two pieces of cannon and two mortars, from Edinburgh castle, in order to dislodge them. But the Earl of Mar, to withdraw the Duke, gave out that he would pass the Forth at Stirling, or the bridge of Doune; and, that same night, began his march. Lieutenant-general Whitham, who commanded in the Duke's absence, having notice of this, sent three expresses to Edinburgh, notifying that the rebels, to the amount of ten thousand, were in full march from Perth to Stirling. The last of these expresses bore, that their vaunt guard, and four thousand of their best men, were to be at Dunblane that night with the Earl of Mar; and six thousand at Auchterarder.

Upon these advices, the Duke, having left a hundred cavalry and a hundred and fifty infantry, under the command of Colonel Kerr and Major-General Wightman, with the militia and volunteers, for the security of the city of Edinburgh, and to carry on the siege of Seaton House, set out for Stirling, with two hundred cavalry and fifty foot, on Monday, the 17th, at noon. It was

and march for England.

confirmed, by many of the inhabitants of Dunblane, who had been chased from their dwellings upon the approach of the rebels, that their whole army was to be at Dunblane next morning. This motion of the Earl had the desired effect, viz. drawing the Duke from Edinburgh, and preventing his detachment from being invested in Seaton House; after which, the Earl returned again to Perth.

Brigadier M'Intosh, having taken possession of Seaton House, entrenched the avenues, and fortified the gates, so as they might be in no danger of surprise.

Lord Torphichen, with two hundred cavalry, and the Earl of Rothes, with three hundred volunteers, marched from Edinburgh to Seaton House; but finding the enemy so strongly fortified, they returned that night, after having exchanged some shots, without damage on either side. During their stay at Seaton House, they sent out parties, who brought them in cows, sheep, meal, and provision, in great abundance.

On the 18th, they received orders from the Earl of Mar, in answer to theirs from Leith, to march towards England, and, at the same time, an express from Mr Forster, to meet him at Coldstream, or Kelso. On Wednesday, the 19th, they arrived at Longformacus. General Wightman, having received intelligence of their removal from

The rebels enter Kelso, and proclaim the Chevalier.

Seaton, marched from Edinburgh to attack them in the rear, and returned in the evening with several prisoners.

The gentlemen who were assembled at Kelso, being informed of the Brigadier's march, and finding they could not defend the place against so strong a force, abandoned it on Thursday the 20th, when the greater part of them went to Edinburgh. That same day M^cIntosh arrived at Dunse, where they proclaimed the Chevalier; and, collecting the public revenues, set off for Kelso on Saturday the 22d.

Immediately upon the Highlanders' arrival there, the Northumberland gentlemen, and those from the southern parts of Scotland, joined them.

Next day, Sunday the 23d, Lord Kenmure ordered Mr Paton to preach in the great church at Kelso; Mr Buxton read prayers, and Mr Paton preached from Deut. xxi. 17. 'The right of the first born is his.'

Next morning, the Highlanders were drawn up in the church-yard, and marched to the market-place, where, with sound of trumpet, the Chevalier was proclaimed by Mr Seaton of Barnes, who assumed the title of the Earl of Dunfermline. The Earl of Mar's manifesto being read, they returned to their quarters.

By this time General Carpenter had marched from Newcastle, and, on the 27th, arrived at

Mutiny among the Highlanders.

Wooler. Hearing of his approach, Lord Kenmure called a council of war. The Northumberland gentlemen urged to march into England. The Earl of Wintoun, Brigadier M'Intosh, and some others of the Scots, proposed to return to Scotland, to join the western clans, attacking, in their way, Dumfries, Glasgow, and other places, and open a communication with the Earl of Mar. The English opposed this; and it was proposed to pass the Tweed and attack General Carpenter's troops, who were not above nine hundred effective men. Not agreeing even to this, they decamped from Kelso, and proceeded to Jedburgh. There it was resolved that they would cross the mountains and enter England. The Highlanders hereupon beginning to mutiny, all possible means were used to persuade them; but no argument could prevail upon them to cross the borders. Their first resolution was then altered; and, on the 29th, the whole body marched for Hawick.

The Highlanders, still supposing that the march for England was intended, separated themselves, and went to the top of a rising ground on Hawick muir, where they rested their arms, and declared their willingness to fight, if brought to the enemy; but that they would not, upon any account, go into England, adhering to the Earl of Wintoun's plan, to go through the west of Scotland, join the clans there, and either cross the Forth above Stir-

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Vigorous preparations to defend

ling, or send word to the Earl of Mar that they would fall upon the Duke of Argyle's rear, whilst he attacked him in front. Upon this dispute, the horse surrounded the foot in order to compel them to march south, whereupon the Highlanders cocked their firelocks, and said, 'if they were to be made a sacrifice, they would choose to have it done in their own country.' After a consultation of two hours, they agreed to keep by them while they staid in Scotland; but upon the first motion of going to England, they would return. Matters being thus far adjusted, they continued their march to Hawick.

The magistrates of Dumfries, upon notice of the conjunction of the rebels at Kelso, and that General Carpenter was in quest of them, despatched expresses to Nithsdale and Galloway, desiring they might come to Dumfries with all expedition, and bring with them their best arms and accoutrements. In a short time there arrived upwards of two thousand volunteers.

On Thursday, the 27th of October, a Jacobite gentleman went to various parts of the town, saying, 'that the town would certainly surrender, and they would be all cut off.' He was taken into custody that night, and committed to prison. Next morning the council met, and issued the following proclamation:—

“That whereas some person or persons, dis-

the town of Dumfries.

affected to His Majesty's person and government, had raised and spread a false and groundless report that the town would surrender, we do hereby declare to all concerned, that we have no such design, but are firmly resolved to make a vigorous resistance if the enemy attack us; and we hope that none believe such malicious stories, artfully contrived by the enemy, &c."

Upon Sunday, October the 30th, the Highlanders marched from Hawick to Langholme. At the same time General Carpenter entered Jedburgh. The Provost of Dumfries, having received an express informing him of the enemy's march to Hawick, ordered the workmen (who had scrupled to work on the Lord's day) to repair to the trenches immediately, which they accordingly did. The wrights cut down several trees in the church-yard in time of sermon; the masons pulled down the east gable of the old chapel, (which was then a fine arch,) and the back wall, to a convenient height for placing firelocks on; and several other necessary precautions were taken, to put the town in condition to resist them.

The Highlanders sent off, from Langholme, a detachment of four hundred cavalry, commanded by the Earl of Carnwath, to surround Dumfries. His Majesty's friends having received intelligence from Ecclefechan, the signal was given by beating of drums, and ringing of bells, ordering all towns-

Danger of Dumfries removed

men and strangers to appear instantly in arms at the moat.

Mr Hepburn, with three hundred and twenty dissenters, being then at Kirkmahoe, three miles from Dumfries, Baillie Gilchrist and the Laird of Bargalie were sent out to desire them to come in to the assistance of the town. Mr Hepburn and his followers, crossing the river, came to Corbilly hill, where they halted. The Provost went, and, when expostulating with them, Mr Hepburn put an unsigned paper into his hand, asserting that 'they had not freedom in their consciences to fight in defence of the constitution of church and state, as established since the sinful Union,' and containing the terms upon which they would agree to what was proposed; on which he returned to the town, leaving them as they were, where they continued until the danger was over.

Two hundred men, with three pieces of cannon, were placed in the centre of the town; the ministers with their people, and surgeons, at the posts assigned them, waiting the approach of the enemy. At four o'clock in the morning, the officers and other gentlemen (the night having been wet) inspected the arms, to see that they were dry. An express arrived at 5 P. M. from Roucand, affirming that the enemy were advanced to Torthorwald, and by that time, would be within three miles of the town. This proved a false alarm. They had been

by discontent in the rebel army.

told, indeed, that Dumfries might be easily taken, and that it would be of great advantage to their cause, being a very rich town, situated upon the mouth of a navigable river on the Irish sea, and where succours from France and Ireland could be easily received, no men-of-war being on these seas to intercept them; that they might furnish themselves with arms, ammunition, and money, and open a passage to Glasgow, one of the richest towns in Scotland, and join their friends from the west; and that as to the Duke of Argyle, he was in no condition to oppose them, not having two thousand men. But all these arguments were used in vain; the English gentlemen, being determined to march into England, pretended they had letters from Lancashire assuring them that, upon their arrival, a general insurrection would take place, and they would be joined by twenty thousand men; and, urging the advantages to be gained with vehemence, turned the scale, and sent an express to Ecclefechan, ordering the detachment sent there to join them at Longtown in Cumberland. Many of the Scots were displeased at this march. The Earl of Wintoun, with part of his troop, drew off, declaring they were taking the way to ruin themselves. He was at last, however, prevailed on to return. Others said, they would rather surrender themselves prisoners, than go forward to certain destruction. Upwards of four hundred separated,

Discontent, and dispersion, of the Highlanders.

intending to return home by Lockerby. Ten of them were taken at Bruryhill, by Robert Jardine and some country people, and carried to Dumfries. The rest passed, in a body, by Moffat; but finding they could not procure sufficient provision while they kept together, they dispersed at Airstone, some of them taking their way towards Douglas, others towards Lammington. The people of Lammington, being apprised of their approach, and that they were already within their boundaries, sent expresses to Crawfordjohn, Robertson, Westoun, Biggar, Skirling, Coulter, and Kilbocho, to assemble, next morning, at the bridge of Clyde, which they accordingly did; and, after a diligent search, found two hundred of them in the hills of Lammington, whom they sent prisoners to Lanark. The miners of Hopetoun took sixty more, who were likewise sent to Lanark, and from thence to Glasgow.

The main body arrived at Brampton on the 1st of November, where Mr Forster opened his commission from the Earl of Mar, to act as General in England. Lord Kenmure, and General Forster, received each a letter from the Earl of Mar. For the sake of brevity, we shall insert only one, both of them being nearly to the same purport:—

‘MY LORD,—I long extremely to hear from you, you may be sure, since I have not had the least accounts, almost, of your

Letter from the Earl of Mar to Gen. Forster.

motions since I sent the detachment over. I hope all is pretty right again, but it was an unlucky mistake in Brigadier M'Intosh, in marching from Haddington to Leith. I cannot but say though, that it was odd your Lordship sent no orders or intelligence to him, when they had reason to expect that party's coming over every day. The retreat he made from Leith, and now from Seaton, with the help of the movement I made from this, makes some amends for that mistake; and I hope that party of men with him will be of great use to you and the cause. I wish you may find a way of sending the enclosed to Mr Forrester, which I leave open for your Lordship to read; and I have little further to say to you than what you will find in it. I know so little of the situation of your affairs, that I must leave to yourself what is fit for you to do as most conducive to the service, and I know you will take good advice.

'My humble service to all friends with you, particularly Brigadier M'Intosh, Lord Nairn, Lord Charles Murray, who, I hope, are joined ere now; and indeed they all deserve praise for their gallant behaviour. I must not forget Kinackin, who, I hear, spoke so resolutely to the Duke of Argyle from the citadel; and I hope Invercall, and all my men with him, are well; and their countrymen long to be at them, which, I hope, they, and we all, shall be soon.

'I have sent another copy of the enclosed to Mr Forrester, by sea, so it will be hard if none of them come into his hands. I know your Lordship will endeavour to let me hear from you as soon as possible, which I long impatiently for, and I hope you will find a way of sending it safe. In one of my former, either to your Lordship, or to somebody to shew you, I told that a part of the army would be about Dumbartoun; but now, I beg you will not rely upon that, for, till I hear from General Gordon, I am uncertain if they hold that way. I have sent your Lordship a copy of my commission, which, perhaps, you have not seen before. I

General Forrester enters England.

have named the general officers, and your Lordship has the rank of Brigadier of the horse.

'I am told the Earl Wintoun has been very useful to our men we sent over. I suppose he is now with your Lordship; and I hope the King will soon thank him himself. I will trouble your Lordship no farther now; but all success attend you, and may we soon have a merry meeting. I am, with all respect,

My LORD,

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

MAR.

From the Camp, at Perth,
October 21st, 1715.

On Wednesday, the 2d November, the rebels marched to Penrith, notwithstanding twelve thousand armed men had been stationed on the road they had to pass; who, upon appearance of the Highlanders, dispersed, and fled, in the utmost confusion, leaving a great number of arms and ammunition. Next day, they marched from Penrith to Appleby, proceeding onwards until they arrived at Lancaster, without opposition, proclaiming the Chevalier, and collecting the public revenues, as they passed.

The magistrates and gentlemen of Dumfries, having heard of the enemy's retreat, caused the people return to the town, and, being assured that the rebels had marched into Lancashire, allowed them to depart, on condition that they would again assemble on twenty-four hours' notice.

Col. Campbell's endeavours to repress rebellion.

The Duke of Argyle, upon the 16th of September, sent orders to Colonel Campbell of Finch, who then had the command of an independent company, to repair to Inverary, assemble the Argyleshire militia, and to send to Glasgow for arms and ammunition his Grace had sent for the use of the said shire; in order to prevent the disaffected clans from rising or joining the Earl of Mar. In obedience thereto, the Deputy Lieutenants entered upon measures for raising the militia.

Before any progress could be made, Glengary and Glenmorriston came to Ahahalider, in the braes of Glenorchy, with about five hundred men, in order to raise the shire in favor of the Chevalier. They concerted that the whole of the clans should join Glengary, and, having seized Inverary, march to the plains of Buchanan, and form a junction with the Earl of Mar by the 1st of October. They intended to proceed thence, by Glasgow, to England. The Duke of Argyle's orders reached his friends in time to enable them to get such a number of men together, as made Glengary think it improper to attack them.

Colonel Campbell deemed it best to divide, and divert, the clans, in Argyleshire, until the troops expected from Ireland had joined those at Stirling. The advice he received from the Duke of Argyle, 'to use his utmost efforts with Lochiel, or any other of the clans, or their friends, to influence

Negotiations betwixt Col. Campbell

them to remain dutiful in their allegiance to his Majesty's service, allowing him, in his name, as having power from his Majesty, to offer them, in that event, safety and protection,' confirmed him in this determination.

Soon after, he received a message from Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Cameron of Lochiel, Stuart of Appin, and other chiefs of the clans, promising, that if he would procure them the Duke's friendship, they would march their clans to Inverary, to join the King's troops; and they themselves would go to Stirling to wait on his Grace. Colonel Campbell communicated to them the assurances his Grace had empowered him to give them; and informed Glengary that he would, upon his return, receive His Majesty's pardon.

Lochnell, Lochiel, and Stuart of Appin, informed the Colonel that they had agreed to meet at the Sui, to proceed to Stirling, and that Lochiel was to wait upon the Earl of Breadalbine, his Lordship having professed his attachment to the Government. About the end of September, the Colonel received another message from Lochnell and Appin, informing him that Lochiel had missed the Earl of Breadalbine at his own house, and had gone to Logarret to wait on him, where he was with the Earl of Mar, and that, deeming this a breach of their agreement, they had resolved to go to Stirling without him.

and Chiefs of the Clans in the Western Highlands.

Next day, however, Lochnell came to Inverary and told the Colonel that Appin appearing inactive, he thought it his duty not to wait upon him. The Colonel endeavoured to persuade him to wait Lochiel's return, and to make them abide by their first resolution; but, finding them determined to join the Earl of Mar, he went alone to Stirling.

About the 6th of October, the Earl of Isla was sent, at the request of the people, to command the loyalists of Argyleshire. At the same time, M'Donald of Clanronald, with seven hundred men, came to Strathfillan, where Glengary was posted, with three hundred of the M'Gregors and Glencoe men. The clan of the M'Gregors had, in the end of September, broke out in rebellion under the command of Gregor M'Gregor of Glen-gyle, nephew to Rob Roy M'Gregor, and made an incursion clandestinely on their neighbours in Buchanan, and the Monterths, having made themselves masters of the boats on the water of Enrick and Lochlomond, and possessed themselves of Loch murrin. About midnight, they came on shore at Bonhill, where they did considerable damage. Soon after, they went to Mar's camp. In a few days they returned to Craigroyston. Upon this it was resolved, by his Majesty's friends, to retake the boats from them, by which they kept the country in a terror. Three long boats, and four pinnaces, were armed and manned from

The arrival of several clans

the ships lying in the Clyde, and, being joined by three large boats belonging to that place, were drawn up the river Leven, by horses, to the mouth of the Loch, the Paisley volunteers, a hundred and twenty in number, being on board. At night, the Dumbarton men arrived at Luss, where they were joined by Sir Humphry Colquhoun of Luss, and James Grant of Pluscardin, his son-in-law, followed by fifty strong fellows in their short hose and belted plaids, armed each with a gun on his shoulder, a target with a sharp pointed steel on his left arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and two pistols, with a durk and knife, on his belt. Here they stayed all night, and, in the morning, marched to Innersnaat, where those who were in the boats leaped ashore, and marched to the top of the mountains, accompanied with martial music. No enemy appearing, they went in quest of the boats taken by the M'Gregors, which they found drawn up on the land; such of them as were not damaged they launched into the water, and destroyed those that were. The M'Gregors, on hearing of this detachment, fled to Strathfillan, and were joined by two hundred and fifty men, under Stewart of Appin; Sir John M'Lean, with four hundred; M'Dougal of Lorn, with fifty; and a party of Breadalbines; amounting (including those of Glengary) to 2400 men. On the 17th, they began their march towards Inverary, and

to the assault of Inverary.

came before it on the 19th. From the time of Lord Isla's arrival, all possible means were used to bring in the Duke's men; but the enemy coming so suddenly prevented Sir Duncan Campbell's men, Sir James Campbell of Auchencbreck, the men of Isla, and several others, from joining those in Inverary. Being only about a thousand, these were constantly employed in making preparations for their defence, in which Sir John Shaw of Greenock was very useful. The enemy, having viewed the town, encamped within half a mile of it.

That night, two of Lochnell's servants, mistaking them for the loyalists, fell into their hands; after detaining them some hours, they gave one of them his liberty, on promising to deliver a letter to his master, which he did. Sir Duncan gave it to Lord Isla. The letter contained a desire to speak with Sir Duncan, and any four or five of them, next morning, without the town. In order to protract the time, the Earl bade notify to them, that they would meet with Clanronald and Glen-gary, next morning. Accordingly they met on a rising ground betwixt the camp and the town, when they told them, 'they had orders from the Earl of Mar to oblige them to return home to their houses, which if they agreed to, they were ready to give them assurances that the shire should remain quiet.' To which Colonel Campbell and Sir Duncan replied, 'they received no orders from the

The rebels depart from before Inverary.

Earl of Mar, and would stay together, or go home, as they thought fit.' The conversation continued in this manner for an hour, when Glengary proposed that neither party should plunder, nor force any persons to join. Colonel Campbell told them, that no person should have the honour to carry arms for the King along with them, but those who willingly offered their service; and that they had no power to treat or conclude, having only liberty from my Lord.

Next day they received a letter, stating, 'that as his Lordship had no power, either from the King, or from his brother, to that purpose, he could neither conclude, nor so much as treat, with any person in arms, against the Government.' The day after receiving this letter, they marched from before the town towards Strathfillan.

The Earl of Isla ordered eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Campbell, to harass them. Upon the first day's march, the Colonel got notice of seven hundred of the Earl of Breadalbine's men in Lorn; and, having marched all night, came up with them next morning, at Glenscheluch. Each party scorned to decline the combat. The men on both sides threw away their plaids; and, with the most undaunted courage, stood impatient for the signal to commence. A parley was proposed at the critical moment; a conference was held by both generals between the lines, the result of

The Duke of Argyle secures Edinburgh.

which, was, the Breadalbins, to spare Campbell's blood, agreed to lay down their arms, upon condition that they might march out of the country unmolested, which was complied with. This done, the chiefs embraced each other, and the men shouted for joy.

Upon the 11th of November, the Earl of Isla, being apprised of the Earl of Mar's march from Perth, in order to cross the Forth at Stirling, came with all expedition to His Majesty's army above Dunblane.

The Duke of Argyle, October 22d, sent Brigadier Grant's regiment to the castle of Edinburgh, and, for the better security of the city, the magistrates ordered twenty pieces of cannon to be placed on the walls.

On Sunday, the 23d, his Grace, hearing that a party of the enemy, consisting of two hundred infantry and a hundred cavalry, were marching by Castle Campbell towards Dunfermline, sent out under the command of Colonel Cathcart, a detachment of dragoons, who came up with them about five next morning. A smart engagement ensuing, several of them were killed and wounded, and seventeen taken prisoners, amongst whom were Mr Murray brother to Abercairney, Mr Hay son to Arbroath, Mr Gordon younger of Aberdour, Mr Forbes younger of Bauffie, Mr Robertson brother to Donshills, Mr Kinloch, physician, Messrs

The Earl of Mar endeavours to cross the Forth at Stirling.

Alexander Smith, Alexander Gordon of Craig, Hamilton of Gibstone, Geo. Gordon of the Miln of Kincardine. They were all carried to Stirling that evening. The Earl of Mar, being joined by the Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald M'Donald, the M'Invans, M'Craws, Chisholms, and others, with eight thousand men, General Gordon, and the western clans, had advanced to Castle Drummond, on their way to join him. He resolved to decamp from Perth and attempt to pass the Forth at Stirling, joining his southern friends, and marching into England. For this end, he summoned his forces, (leaving about three thousand in garrisons, viz. Dundee, Burntisland, &c.) on the 9th of November, when they agreed to put themselves in readiness for a march with the utmost celerity. Amounting to twelve thousand, they determined to hold by Dunblane, and thence detach three thousand to amuse the Duke at Stirling, by making three false attacks at once, at the following places:—one thousand to attack the end of the long causeway, which leads to Stirling bridge; another thousand to attack the Abbey Ford; and the third, the Drip Coble. While the King's troops were to be engaged with these, the main body was to cross the river a little farther up. This effected, the three thousand were to draw off, and follow next morning. His Grace, having notice hereof, resolved to prevent this by possessing him-

 Battle of the Sherriff-muir,—Argyle's despatch.

self of the rising grounds above Dunblane, keeping the road from Perth upon his left. Having been joined by General Wightman from Edinburgh, and the troops that were lying at Glasgow, Kilsyth, and Falkirk; and, leaving the Earl of Buchan with the Glasgow regiment and the militia of Stirlingshire, to protect the town; he began his march on Friday, the 11th of November, and encamped upon a rising ground between Dunblane and the Sherriff-muir.

The Earl of Mar, on the 10th of November, left Colonel Balfour governor of Perth; and marched to Auchterarder, where he was joined, on the 11th, by General Gordon. On the 12th, he ordered General Gordon and Brigadier Ogilvie to take possession of Dunblane, with eight squadrons of horse, and all the clans.

Having described the movements of the two armies, to the day memorable for the battle of the Sherriff-muir, we shall now, for the sake of impartiality, give an account of that action, as related, 1st, By the Duke of Argyle;—2d, By the Earl of Mar;—and 3d, In the account printed at Perth by Robert Freebairn.

I.—DESPATCH of the Duke of Argyle to St James', by Colonel Harrison:—

‘Being informed, on the 12th, that the rebels had come to Auchterarder, with their baggage, ar-

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

tillery, and a sufficient quantity of bread for a march of many days, we found we were obliged either to engage them on the grounds near Dumblain, or to decamp and wait their coming to the head of Forth. We chose the first on many accounts, and, amongst others, that the grounds near Dumblain were much more advantageous for our horse than those at the head of the river; and, besides this, by the frost then beginning, the Forth might become passable in several places, which the small number of our troops did not enable us to guard sufficiently. We likewise received advice that, on the 12th, at night, the rebels designed to encamp at Dumblain, upon which, judging it of importance to prevent them, by possessing that place, we marched in the forenoon of the 12th, and encamped with our left at Dumblain, and our right towards the Sherriff-muir. The enemy stopped that night, within two miles of Dumblain. Next morning, the 13th, his Grace, being informed by his advanced guard that the rebels were forming, rode to a rising ground, where he viewed the enemy distinctly, and found, as they pointed their march, they designed to attack our flank. The muir, to our right, was, during the preceding night, impassable, preventing us from being flank-ed on that side; but, by the frost, on the 13th, was become passable. His Grace, therefore, ordered his troops to stretch to the right, in the fol-

Duke of Argyle's despatch to St. James'.

lowing order:—three squadrons of dragoons covering right and left, in the first line, and six battalions of foot in the centre; the second line was composed of two battalions in the centre, with one squadron of horse on the right, and another on the left; and one squadron of dragoons behind each wing of horse in the first line. As the right of our army came over against the left of the rebels, which we had put to a morass, his Grace, finding they were not quite formed, gave orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their horse and foot. They received us very briskly; but after some resistance, were broke through, and pursued about two miles by five squadrons of dragoons, the squadron of volunteers, and five squadrons of foot.

When we came near the river Allan, by the vast number of rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an entire rout, and resolved to pursue as long as we had day-light. They, in their retreat to the river Allan, had taken up a long time, by reason of the frequent attempts they had made to form in different places, which obliged us as often to attack and break them. When they were, in part, passed, and others passing, the Allan, Major-general Wightman, who commanded the five battalions of foot, informed the Duke of Argyle, that he could not discover what was become of our troops on the left, and that a considerable body of the rebels, horse and foot, stood behind us. Upon that

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

his Grace halted, formed his troops in order, and marched towards the hill on which the rebels had posted themselves. Thereafter, his Grace extended his right towards Dumblain, to give his left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued until it was late, and, not finding our left come up, his Grace marched us very slowly towards the ground on which we formed in the morning. So soon as it was dark, the rebels, who continued undispersed on the top of the hill, moved to Ardoch. About an hour after, our troops which had been separated from the Duke of Argyle, joined his Grace. Our dragoons on the left, in the beginning of the action, charged some of their horse on the right, and carried off a standard; but, at the same time, the rebels pressed so hard on our battalions on the left, that we were disordered, and obliged to fall in amongst the horse. The rebels, by this means, cut off the communication betwixt our left and the other body. Being informed that a body of the rebels were endeavouring to get to Stirling, the troops of our left then retired beyond Dumblain, to possess themselves of the passes leading thither. We have as yet no certain account of the number killed, but it is reckoned they may be about eight hundred, amongst whom there are several persons of distinction.

‘The quality of the prisoners is not yet fully known, only that the Viscount of Strathallan, two

Duke of Argyle's despatch to St. James'.

Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, nine Captains, besides subalterns, are brought to Stirling. We also carried off fourteen colours and standards, four pieces of cannon, tumbrils with ammunition, and all their bread waggons.

‘ This victory was not obtained without the loss of some brave men on our side:—the Earl of Forfar’s wounds are so many that his life is despaired of; the Earl of Islay, who came half an hour before the action, received two wounds, the one in his arm, the other in his side, but, the balls having been extracted, it is hoped he is past danger; General Evans received a cut in his head; Colonel Hawley was shot through the body, but there is hopes of his recovery; Colonel Laurence is taken; Colonel Hammers, and Captain Armstrong, aides-de-camp to the Duke of Argyle, are killed.

‘ The courage of the King’s troops was never keener than on this occasion; they attacked and pursued the rebels, though thrice their number, with all the resolution imaginable. The conduct and bravery of the Generals, and other inferior officers, contributed much to our success. Above all, the great example of his Grace the Duke of Argyle, whose presence not only gave spirit to the action, but gained success as often as he led on. The troop of horse volunteers, which consisted of noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, shewed their quality by the gallantry of their behaviour;

Battle of the Sherrif-muir;

in a particular manner, the Duke of Roxburgh, the Lords Rothes, Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudoun, Belhaven, and Sir John Shaw.

* A List of the Officers and Soldiers killed, wounded, or missing, in the battle of Sherrif-muir, of the troops under the Duke of Argyle:—

Portmore's regiment,—Captain Robertson, and a Quartermaster, wounded; two dragoons killed, and four wounded.

Evans' regiment,—Captain Farrier, his thigh bone broke; Col. Hawley, shot through the shoulder; a cornet, and a few private men, killed.

Lord Forfar's regiment,—Himself shot in the knee, and cut in the head with ten or twelve strokes from their broad swords, after quarter; Ensign Branch, and eight private men, killed.

Wightman's regiment,—Ensign Mark, wounded; two grenadiers, and two or three men, killed.

Shannon's regiment,—Captain Arnot, killed; and five or six men killed and wounded.—These, with a squadron of Stair's dragoons, were the troops that composed the right, and beat the rebels.

ON THE LEFT.—*Morrison's regiment*,—Lieutenant-Colonel Hammers, two captains, four lieutenants, and three ensigns, missing, and a considerable number of privates.

Montague's regiment,—Lieutenant-Colonel Laurence, Capt. Umball, Capt. Bernard, missing; and a considerable number of privates, killed.

Clayton's regiment,—Captain Barlow, killed.

Fusileers,—Captain Cheissly, Lieutenant Hayard, Lieutenant Michelson, missing, (said to be taken); and Captain Urquhart, wounded.

Egerton's regiment,—Captain Danaer, wounded; and a few privates, killed.

Duke of Argyle's despatch to St. James'.

' A particular List of the Prisoners of Rank brought to the castle of Stirling, the 14th of November :—

Viscount Strathallan, Mr Thomas Drummond, his brother; John Walkinshaw, of Borrowfield, Logie Drummond, Mr Drummond of Drumquhany, Mr Murray of Auchtertyre, Captain Wm. Crichton, Mr John Ross, son to the Archbishop of St Andrews, Mr Nairn of Baldivale, Mr Wm. Hay, John Gordon, captain; William Forbes, lieutenant; Archibald Fotheringham, do.; Alexander Garioch, ensign; James Carnegie, surgeon; Nicol Donaldson, ensign; Alexander Stewart of Innerfleur, foreracer to the Duke of Athol; James Stewart, lieutenant; Niel M'Glasson, chamberlain to the Duke of Athol; William Adamson, lieutenant; John Robertson, do.; James Gordon, surgeon; David Garden, captain in Panmure's regiment; Kenneth M'Kenzie, nephew to Sir Alexander M'Kenzie of Coul; Charles Garden of Bettestern; John M'Lean, adjutant; Captain M'Kenzie of Kildin, Mr John Rattray, Mr Peter Stuart, Mr George Taylor, Mr James Lyon, Mr Auchterlony, Lewis Cramond, William Stuart, George Mear, Hector M'Lean, Alexander Mill, John M'Intosh, Hugh Calder, James Innes, Donald M'Pherson, John Morgan, Donald Robertson, Robert Menzies, William Menzies, John Menzies, William Menzies, William Stuart, Alexander M'Lachlan, Patrick Campbell, Hugh M'Raw, Donald M'Raw, Christopher M'Raw, John Lesly, James Edgar, James Moody, James Mill, John Gordon, Donald M'Murie, Murdoch M'Pherson, Alexander Cameron, Donald M'Naughtie, Ewen M'Lachlan, Ewen M'Donald Donald, Robertson, James Heach, Thomas Robertson, Alexander Morrison, Andrew Jamieson, Robert Mellis, Adam Grinsel, Angus Stuart, John Robertson, Duncan M'Intosh, James Peddie, John Forbes, Alexander Stuart, Donald Mitchel, Francis Finlay, John Callinach, John Ritchie, merchant; and Captain Charles Chalmers, formerly of the foot guards, one of the Earl of Mar's majors.'

Battle of the Sheriff-muir;

II.—DESPATCH sent by the Earl of Mar to Colonel Balfour, governor of Perth:—

Ardoch, November 13, 1715.

‘ I thought you would be anxious to know the fate of this day. We attacked the enemy on the end of the Sheriff-muir, from our right and centre; carried the day entirely; pursued them down to a little hill on the south of Dumblain; and there I got most of our horse, and a pretty good number of our foot, and brought them again into some order. We knew not, at that time, what was become of our left, so we returned to the field of battle. We discerned a body of the enemy on the north of us, consisting mostly of the grey dragoons, and some of the black. We also discovered a body of their foot farther north upon the field, where we were in the morning; and, east of that, a body, as we thought, of our own foot, and I still believe it was so. I formed the horse and foot with me in a line on the north side of the hill, where we had engaged, and kept our front towards the enemy to the north of us; but, upon our forming and marching towards them, they halted, and marched back to Dumblain. Our baggage and train horses had all run away in the beginning of the action; but we got some horses, and brought off most of the train to this place, where we quartered to-night about Ardoch, whither we marched in very good order; and, had our left and second

Earl of Mar's despatch to Perth.

line behaved like our right, and as the rest of the first line did, our victory had been complete. But another day is coming for that, and I hope ere long too.

‘ I send you a list of the officers’ names who are prisoners here, besides those who are dangerously wounded, and could not come along, whose words of honour were taken. Two of these are the Earl of Forfar, who, I am afraid will die, and Captain Urquhart of Buresyard, who is severely wounded. We have also a good number of private men prisoners; but the number I do not exactly know.

‘ We have lost, to our regret, the Earl of Strathmore and the Captain of Clan-Ranald. Some are missing, of whose fate we are still uncertain.

‘ The Earl of Panmure, Drummond of Logie, and Lieutenant-Colonel MacLean are wounded.

‘ This is all that I have to say now, except that I am yours, &c.

MAR.

‘ P. S. We have taken a great quantity of the enemy’s arms.

‘ *Montague’s regiment*,—Lieut.-Col. Albert Laurence, Capt. John Edwards.

Clayton’s,—Captain William Barlow, Lieut. Edward Gibson
Captain Mitchel.

Lord Mark Kerr’s,—Captain Walter Cheissly.

Earl Orrery’s,—Lieutenant Thomas Mitchelson, Hay, and
Richard Henceway.

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

Brigadier Morrison's,—Ensign Justin Holdman, since dead; Glenkindy, and a considerable number of privates, with arms.'

III.—'ACCOUNT of the engagement on the Sherriff-muir, near Dumblain, November 13th, 1715, betwixt the K...g's army, commanded by the Earl of Mar, and the Duke of B.....k's, commanded by Argyle:—

'There being various and different reports industriously spread abroad, to cover the victory obtained by the King's army over the enemy, the best way to set it in a clear light is to narrate the true matter of fact, and to leave it to the world to judge thereof.

'*Thursday, November 10th.*—The Earl of Mar reviewed the army at Auchterarder.

'*Friday, 11th.*—Rested.

'*Saturday, 12th.*—The Earl of Mar ordered Lieutenant-General Gordon, and Brigadier Ogilvy, with three squadrons belonging to the Marquis of Huntley, and the Master of Sinclair's five squadrons of horse, and all the clans, to march and take possession of Dumblain, which was to be done two days before, but was delayed by some interruptions; and all the rest of the army was ordered, at the same time, to parade upon the muir of Tullibardine, very early, and to march after General Gordon. The Earl of Mar went to Drummond Castle, to meet Lord Breadalbine, and ordered General Hamilton to march the army.

Account printed at Perth by R. Freebairn.

Upon the march, General Hamilton had intelligence of a body of the enemy having taken possession of Dumblain, which account he sent immediately to the Earl of Mar. A little after, General Hamilton had another express, from General Gordon, who was then about two miles to the westward of Ardoch, that he had intelligence of a great body of the enemy being in Dumblain; upon which General Hamilton drew up the army, so as the ground at the Roman camp, near Auchterarder, would allow. A very little after, the Earl of Mar came up to the army, and not hearing any more from Lieutenant-General Gordon, who was marching on, judged it to be only some small party of the enemy to disturb our march, ordered the guards to be posted, and the army to their quarters, with orders to assemble upon the parade any time of the night or day, upon the firing of three cannon. A little after the army was dismissed, the Earl of Mar had an account from Lieutenant-General Gordon, informing him that the Duke of Argyll was at Dumblain, with his whole army. Upon which, the General was ordered to halt till the Earl would come up to him, and ordered the three guns to be fired; when the army formed immediately, and marched up to Lieutenant-General Gordon at Kinbuck, where the whole army lay under arms, with guards advanced from each squadron and battalion, till break of day.

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

' Sunday, the 13th.—The Earl of Mar gave orders for the whole army to form on the muir to the left of the road that leads to Dumblain, fronting Dumblain; the generals being ordered to their posts. The Stirling squadron, with the King's standard, and two squadrons of the Marquis of Huntly's regiment, formed the right of the first line of horse. All the clans formed the right of the first line of foot. The Perthshire and Fife-shire squadrons formed the left of the first line of horse. The Earl Marshal's squadron on the right of the second line. Three battalions of the Marquis of Seaforth's foot, two battalions of Lord Huntly's, the Earl of Panmure's, the Marquis of Tullibardine's, two battalions of Drummond, commanded by the Viscount of Strathallan, and Logie Almond; the battalion of Strouan, and the Angus squadron of horse, formed the second line. While the army was forming, we discovered some small number of the enemy on the height to the westward of the Sherriff-muir, which looks into Dumblain, from which place they had a full view of our army. The Earl of Mar called a council of war, consisting of all the noblemen, gentlemen, general officers, and heads of the clans, which was held in front of the horse on the left, where it was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to fight the enemy. On which, the Earl of Mar ordered the Earl Marshal, Major-General of the horse, with his own

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squadron, and Sir Donald McDonald's battalion, to march to the height where we saw the enemy, and dislodge them; and send an account of their motions and dispositions. No sooner did the Earl Marshal begin his march, than the enemy disappeared, and the Earl of Mar ordered the army to march after them. By the other Generals' orders, the lines marched off the right, divided in the centre, and marched up the hill in four lines. After marching about a quarter of a mile, the Earl Marshal sent back an account that they discovered the enemy forming their line very near him on the southern summit of the hill, on which the army particularly the horse, was ordered to march up very quickly, and form to the enemy; but by the breaking of their lines in marching off, they fell into some confusion in the forming, and some of the second line jumbled into the first, on or near the left; and some of the horse formed near the centre; which seems to have been the occasion that the enemy's few squadrons on the right were not routed, as the rest.

The Earl of Mar placed himself at the head of the clans, and finding the enemy only forming their line, thought fit to attack them in that posture. He sent Colonel William Clephane, adjutant-general to the Marquis of Drummond, lieutenant-general of the horse, on the right; and to Lieutenant-General Gordon on the right of the

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

foot; and Major David Erskine, one of his aides-de-camp, to the left, with orders to march up and attack immediately. On their return, pulling off his hat, he waved it with a huzza, and advanced to the front of the enemy's formed battalions. On which, all the line to the right being composed of the clans led on by Sir Donald MacDonald's brothers, Glengary, Captain of Clan-Ranald, Sir John M'Lean, Glencoe, Campbell of Glenlyon, colonel of Breadalbine's foot, and Brigadier Ogilvy of Boyne, with Colonel Gordon of Glenback, at the head of Huntly's battalions, made a most furious attack, so that, in seven or eight minutes, we could neither perceive the form of a squadron or battalion of the enemy before us.

‘ We drove the main body and left of the enemy in this manner for about half an hour, killing and taking prisoners all that we could overtake. The Earl of Mar endeavoured to stop our foot, and put them in some order to follow the enemy, whom we saw moving off in small bodies from a little hill towards Dumblain, where the Earl of Mar resolved to follow them to complete the victory; when an account was brought him that our left and most of our second line had given way, and the enemy was pursuing them down the back of the hill, and had taken our artillery. Immediately the Earl of Mar gave orders for the horse to wheel, and having put the foot in order

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as fast as could be, marched back with them. When he was again near the top of the hill, two squadrons of the enemy's grey dragoons were perceived marching towards us. When they came near the top of the hill, and saw us advancing in order to attack them, they made much faster down the hill than they came up, and joined, at the foot of the hill, a small squadron or two of the black dragoons, and a small battalion of foot, which we judged had marched about the west end of the hill and joined them. At first, they again seemed to form on the low ground, and advanced towards us; but when they saw us marching down the hill upon them, they fled very speedily to Dumblain. The Earl of Mar remained possessed of the field of battle, and our own artillery, and stood upon the ground till sun-set; then, considering that the army had no cover or victuals the night before, and none to be had nearer than Braco, Ardoch, and adjacents, near which his Lordship expected the left to rally, and the battalions of the Lord George Murray, Inverdyke, M'Pherson, and MacGregor to join him, resolved to draw off the artillery, and march the army to that place, where were some provisions; there were two carriages of the guns broke, which we left on the road. But these battalions did not join us till the next day, afternoon, before which the enemy was returned to Stirling. We took

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

the Earl of Forfar, who was dangerously wounded, Colonel Lawrence, and ten or twelve captains and subalterns, and about 200 serjeants and private men, and the Laird of Glenkindy, one of the volunteers; four colours, several drums, and about 14 or 1500 stands of arms. We compute that there lay killed in the field of battle 7 or 800 of the enemy; this is certain, that there lay dead upon the field of battle above fifteen of the enemy to one of ours. The number of wounded must also be very great.

‘ The prisoners taken by us were every civilly used, and none of them stript. Some are allowed to return to Stirling, on their parole; and the officers have the liberty of the town of Perth.

‘ The few prisoners taken by the enemy on our left were most of them stript and wounded after being taken. The Earl of Bannymore was the first of the prisoners wounded after taken. They, refusing his parole, left him in a village; and hastily retreating on the appearance of our army, he was rescued by his brother and servants, and carried off.

‘ *Monday, 14th.*—The Earl of Mar drew out the army early in the morning, on the same field at Ardoch, they were on the day before. About twelve o’clock we perceived some squadrons of the enemy on the top of the hill near the field of battle, which marched over the top of the hill, and

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a little after we had an account of their marching to Stirling. On which, the Earl of Mar marched back with his army, and continued about Auchterarder.

‘ *Tuesday, 15th.*—Rested.

‘ *Wednesday, 16th.*—The Earl of Mar left General Hamilton with the horse, to canton about Duplin; and Lieutenant-General Gordon, with the clans and the rest of the foot, about Forgan and adjacents, and went into Perth himself to order provisions for the army, the want of which was the reason of his returning to Perth.

‘ *Thursday, 17th.*—The Earl of Mar ordered General Hamilton to march with the horse, and some of the foot, to Perth, and Lieutenant-General Gordon, with the clans, to canton about that place.

‘ After writing the former narrative, we have an account from Stirling, stating that the enemy lost 1,200 men; and, after enquiry, we cannot find above 60 of our men in all killed, among whom were the Earl of Strathmore, the Captain of Clan Ranald, both much lamented; and Auchterhouse missing. Very few of our men are wounded.’

Perth, printed by [unclear]
Robert Freebairn, 1715, [unclear]

Battle of the Sherriff-muir;

The Earl of Mar claimed this victory, as well as the Duke of Argyle. It must be conceded, that both sides behaved with great courage. An incident, however, happened, which contributed considerably to the Duke of Argyle's success:—one Drummond, an officer in Argyle's army, went to Perth, as a deserter, and communicated information to Lord Drummond, who made him his *side-de-camp*. During the action of the 13th, the Earl of Mar, perceiving his right wing successful in repulsing the Duke of Argyle's left, despatched the said Drummond to General Hamilton, who commanded Mar's left, with orders to attack the enemy resolutely. Instead of communicating these orders, he informed the General that the Earl of Mar, being defeated on the right, wished him to fall back immediately, with as much order as circumstances would permit. General Hamilton, agreeably to these orders, gave way on the Duke of Argyle's approach, without firing a gun; when many of his men were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Drummond having given the aforesaid orders, deserted to the Duke of Argyle. Another incident aided the Duke of Argyle:—Rob Roy McGregor, noted for resolution and courage, being within a little distance of the Earl of Mar's army with his men, when desired by one of his own friends to go and assist,

Celebration of the Anniversary, 1815.

answered, "If they cannot do it without me, they shall not do it with me."*

We shall now proceed to speak of the affairs in the north of Scotland, which we have hitherto only slightly noticed.

No sooner did the Chevalier's design of invading Britain with a power from abroad, and Mar's endeavours to raise a rebellion at home, become

* Upon the 13th of November 1815, a number of gentlemen and common people, amounting nearly to six hundred, assembled upon the Sherriff-muir, where a large bonfire was lighted up, and the populace regaled with whisky, bag-pipes, and dancing. The piper, (Alexander Kerr, from Stirling,) was dressed in the ancient national garb. J. Goldstream, Esq. Sherriff-Substitute of Perthshire, delivered an animated speech to those assembled, in which he contrasted the present peaceable times, in which we live, with those of 1715. Two graves, or rather trenches, were opened, when, to the astonishment of all present, the bones appeared nearly entire. Mr. White, wood-merchant in Dunblane, took away a skull with seven teeth in the lower jaw; now in the possession of Dr. Stewart. The compiler of this work measured several thigh-bones, and has in his possession one 18½ inches long, in a wonderful state of preservation.

The Earl of Mar was to have been personified by Mr M'Laren of Ardoch, and the Duke of Argyle by Mr Monteith of Couldhame; but, the day being unfavorable, the Earl did not make his appearance. The Duke of Argyle sung the well known commemorative song, entitled *The Battle of Sherriff-muir*, when the company retired to Dunblane, and spent the afternoon with the utmost hilarity, concluding with a ball and supper.

Progress of the rebellion in the north of Scotland.

evident, than the friends of the Government about Inverness began to enlist and assemble their men who had arms, and to provide those who were deficient.* Still there was a great want of arms, ammunition, and money; with which if the government had supplied them, the rebellion in those parts might have been easily prevented from reaching the height it afterwards attained.

On the 13th of September, the Laird of M'Intosh, by the instigation of his friend, M'Intosh of Borlam, came to Inverness with 3 or 400 (according to some 500) men. Having intercepted the post with Fowles' commission as governor of Inverness, they went to Culloden House, and demanded the arms and ammunition in it. Mr Forbes, the proprietor, being then in London, his Lady resolutely told them, "that her husband had left her the keys of that house, with the custody of what was in it, and she would deliver them to none but himself;" and immediately put the house in a state of defence. M'Intosh, however, continued about the house and molested her tenants, Lady Forbes, a few days after, sent her chamberlain to represent her condition to Colonel Monro of Fowles, who instantly armed and marched 200

* The Monroes, August 1st, Lord Strathnaver; the Sutherland men, the 4th and 5th; the Grants, the 4th and 9th; the Rosses of East Ross, the 16th and 17th; and Lord Rae, about the same time.

Operations of Earls Sutherland and Seaforth.

men, for her relief, as far as the water of Conon; where Seaforth, in a message, told him he would dispute his passage with 1,500 men. This did not damp the Colonel's zeal to relieve the Lady, till her own tenants in Ferntosh informed him, 'that his assistance would not be requisite, Seaforth having promised, that M'Intosh should no more infest Culloden.' The tenants in Ferntosh refusing to join Colonel Fowles, according to agreement, he, not being able to resist Seaforth and the M'Intoshes, returned home.

On the 26th, the Earl of Seaforth sent Alexander M'Kenzie of Davachmaluak to Sir Robert Monro of Fowles with this message, 'that Seaforth was now designed to execute what he had so long determined, *i. e.* to set King James upon the throne, the matter now being so ripe, as it would be effectuated without stroke of sword; he, therefore, required him to deliver what arms and ammunition he had by him, as he tendered his own safety.' To which Sir Robert replied, 'that what arms he had, he had them for the use and service of King George, whom he would defend while his blood was warm.' He immediately placed a strong garrison in his house, and, next day, sent his followers, and the gentlemen of his name, under the command of his son, Colonel Robert Monro, to the bridge of Alness, where Colonel Monro had rendezvoused 400 men of his name and their fol-

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lowers. They pitched a camp, and were joined, the day following, by Hugh Ross of Brealangwell, chamberlain to Lady Anne Ross of Balnagowan, with 180 of her tenantry, after leaving a guard to defend their territory.

The Earl of Sutherland, who had embarked at Leith on the 25th of September, arrived, on the 28th, at Dunrobin, having landed Mr Duncan Forbes in Murray, but came not to the camp for some days after that. During this time, the Earl of Seaforth assembled his *posse*, consisting of 1800 men, with whom he encamped near Brahan, about five miles to the westward of Fowles. He despatched Sir John M'Kenzie of Coul to possess Inverness, when M'Intosh marched southward, in order to secure his passage to Perth, should he find it convenient to join the Earl of Mar.

On the 6th of October, the Earl of Sutherland and the Lords Strathnaver and Rae, joined the camp at Alness with 300 of the Earl's, and 200 of Lord Rae's men, rendering the whole force, for His Majesty's service 1,200 men; adequate, as they thought, to defend their country from the assaults of the Earl of Seaforth, and prevent him from joining the Earl of Mar at Perth. Seaforth, however, was joined, at the same time, by Sir Donald M'Donald, with about 700 men of his own, and other clans he had picked up in his way from the Isle of Sky: viz. the Mackinvans, M'Craws,

Retreat of the Earl of Sutherland.

and Chisholms of Strath-glass, by which his camp consisted of nearly 3,000 men. The Earl of Sutherland, apprized of this new accession, sent an urgent letter to Culloden, desiring that the Grants, Kilravock, and other friends in the shires of Inverness, Nairn, and Murray, should, with all the force they could muster, proceed to Ross, to assist him against the M'Kenzies and M'Craws. This letter arrived at Culloden on Friday, the 18th of October, in the evening; Captain Grant was despatched next day to Strathspey, and in little more than twenty-four hours assembled 500 of his brother, the Brigadier's men together, who, with 120 of Colonel Grant's and Knoekandow's men, marched on Monday to the bridge of Dulcy, on the water of Findhorn, to be transported to Ross with Kilravock's men, in boats which Kilravock had brought from Findhorn to Nairn for that purpose. But, on their way to the shore, Kilravock and Mr Duncan Forbes met them, and produced a second letter from the Earl of Sutherland, stating, that his Lordship had made a retreat to the Bonar, which stopped the embarkation. The reason assigned for the retreat was the following:—on Sunday, October 9th, the Earl of Seaforth and Sir Donald, with the whole of his army, advanced to attack Lord Sutherland, who summoned a council of war, when it was resolved, that since there was so great a disparity betwixt their num-

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ber and that of the enemy, it was better to make a retreat to the Bonar (a narrow arm of the sea, which divides Ross from Sutherland) than to hazard an engagement. Colonel Monro dissented from this resolution, knowing how difficult it would be to keep the men together after a retreat, many of them not being able to distinguish betwixt a retreat and a flight. However, being out-voted, he followed the Earl till he came to the Bonar, where finding that Lord Sutherland's men and the M'Kays had deserted, and were all over to the Sutherland side of the ferry, he, and the gentlemen of his name, leaving their horses, crossed the mountains, with their followers, and came betwixt the enemy and his father's house. Having re-inforced the garrison, he sent the rest of the men to the mountains, till further orders.

Next day, Lord Sutherland retiring from Alness, Lord Seaforth and Sir Donald, with their whole force, took their station there till Saturday, the 15th, harrassing the country belonging to Sir Robert Monro and the gentlemen of his name. Seaforth being induced to visit Lady Tennenich, a friend told her that he was come to protect her; she immediately exclaimed, 'the Lord of Hosts be my protector!' The Earl entering at this moment, heard the expression, and, quitting the house, sent a party of soldiers, who plundered her of all her cattle and moveables.

Earl of Seaforth's conduct; proceeds to Perth.

He also sent a message to Lady Anne Ross, relict of the Laird of Balnagovan, and sister to the late Earl of Murray, who had a strong garrison in her house, requiring her to deliver what arms and ammunition she had. She forthwith called the gentlemen in her house, and shewing them the letter, declared, that though she was not void of that fear incident to her sex, yet, in the sight of God she would rather die in the rubbish of that house, than buy her own quiet by giving so much as one gun-flint to employ against the interest of Christ. She sent her answer to Seaforth's camp at Alness, who had left that place a few hours before the messenger came, and was on his way to Inverness, having received two messages to come to Perth with all possible expedition.

The Earl stayed only a day or two at Inverness, where several of those he had brought from Alness deserted. He was there joined by 300 of the Frasers, under the command of Alexander M'Kenzie of Frazerdale. Having left Sir John M'Kenzie of Coul with his garrison there, on Monday, October 24th, he took his route towards Perth, through Strath-spey, where the Grants, apprised of his coming, assembled for the defence of their territory. Though Seaforth and Sir Donald's forces tripled the number of the Grants, they judged it inexpedient to attack them, and only demanded 100 cows, and 100 bolls of meal for ready mo-

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ney, which being refused them, they passed on through Strath-spey, without doing them any injury; lest the Grants might harrass them on their march. Changing their course, they marched to Badenoch, where they quartered several days on their friends, and cessed that country for provisions, which they very much wanted. Soon after, they reached Mar's camp at Perth, as we have already noticed.

About the end of October, Lord Lovat and the Earl of Culloden arrived in the north, and leagued with the Grants for the recovery of Inverness from the rebels. Lovat and Culloden afterwards concluded their arrangements for the execution of this design, in a meeting with Kilravock, Mr Duncan Forbes, and other friends. He then went homewards, and was attended by several gentlemen of the name of Frazer, as soon as they heard of his coming. In a few days after, he proceeded, with a body of his friends and relations to Strath-errick, where Hugh Frazer of Foyers, and Alexander Frazer of Culdathill, waited upon him with their men, on that side of Loch-Ness.

In his march to Strath-errick, he compelled the Clan Chattan, who were in arms on the water of Nairn, and going to support the garrison of Inverness, to disperse and lay down their arms; and MacDonald of Keppoch, who, for the same pur-

Plan of attack on Inverness by Lord Lovat, &c.

pose, had 300 men in the Braes of Abertarf, having notice of Lovat's being near, dispersed them. On which, Lord Lovat, to prevent their reaching the other side of Loch-Ness, crossed at Bonah, with 200 chosen men, and marched by Kinmayles, according to agreement. Meanwhile, Colonel Grant, with a number of his own, Elcheiz's and Knockandow's men, marched through Murray; Captain George Grant, with 300 men, marched towards Inverness; and the other Gentlemen there, were drawing their men together, for the designed expedition.

The Earl of Sutherland finding, that, by Seaforth's departure, a communication was opened betwixt him and his friends, called a meeting of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Ross and Murray, and the other shires within his lieutenaney, at Invergordon in Ross-shire; to which place Kilravock came over from the Murray-side, in name of the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Murray: and, sent Alexander Gordon of Ardoch to London, in the Queensborough man-of-war, to represent the circumstances of that country, who returned, soon after, with 1,000 stand of arms. It was there agreed, that the Murray gentlemen, in conjunction with Lord Lovat and the Grants, should set upon Inverness on that side the Murray Frith, while the Earl with his men, in conjunction with Lord Rae's men, the Monroes and Rosses, should

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attack it on the north side. And, further, they desired the gentlemen in Ross-shire, who could not furnish men to the service of government to furnish meal, which was deposited in the garnel of Invergordon, and thence transported, by sea, to Inverness. But before the Earl could bring up his men to that place, (having no less than three branches of the Murray Firth, and twenty miles of land interposed betwixt the nearest part of his country and that of Inverness; and Lord Rae's men being obliged to march 40 or 50 miles before they could reach the Earl), Lord Lovat and the Murray Lieutenants invested the town, not deeming it expedient to wait till the Earl arrived. They clandestinely sent a detachment to enter the town, under the command of Captain Arthur Ross, brother to Kilravock, who, pressing too keenly on the enemy, was killed in the attempt. In order to surround the town and castle, Lord Lovat stationed his detachment at the west end of the bridge; Captain Grant on the south side, to enter the castle-street; and the Murray Lieutenants* were to attack the East-port.

Sir John M^cKenzie, governor, deeming it most prudent to make his escape before he was quite surrounded, passed the Firth with his men, in

* These were Kilravock, Lethem-Brodie, Sir Archibald Campbell, and Dunphail. They had about 300 men.

Surrender of Inverness; escape of Governor M'Kenzie.

boats, which a few days before he had ordered to be broke, to prevent communication with the friends on both sides; and, arriving on the other side, met Colonel Monro. The Colonel had left Lord Sutherland, with 150 men, so soon as he heard that His Majesty's friends had invested Inverness, intending to assist them. The Colonel, on seeing Sir John, prepared for action, but Sir John shunned him. The Colonel, on account of the paucity of his force, deemed it inexpedient to attack him; he marched to Inverness, and arrived the same day, Saturday, November 12th, a few hours after Lord Lovat and those in conjunction with him had taken possession of that place. Colonel Monro occupied the castle, as governor, in virtue of his commission; while Lord Lovat's men, the Grants, and those who belonged to the Murray gentlemen guarded the other parts of the town.

A few days afterwards, the Earl of Sutherland arrived, having brought his men to the other side of the water within two miles of Inverness; and having got 12 or 14 pieces of cannon, his Lordship planted them on the castle. Lord Lovat found means to acquaint the 300 men of his name, whom M'Kenzie of Fraserdale had carried to Perth, of his return. The next day after they had received his message, they came off in a body to wait on their chief; and by this time had joined

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him. The Earl of Sutherland and the King's other friends then present, finding there was now a good number of men in the place, sufficient to defend it, they next thing they considered was, how to maintain them there; and for that purpose, his Lordship marched out of the town on Saturday, the 19th, and, with his own men, Lord Rae's men, the Rosses, and a detachment of the Monroes, whom he had left on the other side of the Firth, made an incursion on the lands of the M'Kenzies, cessing those gentlemen who had sent their tenants with Seaforth to Mar's camp, but, withal, taking care that the contribution exacted did not exceed the six weeks' provision they were obliged in law to give their men, in case they had sent them to serve the Government; and in eight days after, he returned, bringing his whole army with him into Inverness.

In the beginning of December, the Earl of Sutherland and the Lord Strathnaver his son, with 300 men, 200 of the Rosses, under Hugh Ross of Brealangwell, and 300 of the Grants, made another incursion through the shires of Murray and Nairn, (having left Colonel Monro of Fowlis in Inverness) laying the country under contributions for the maintainance of the men in their service.

The Deputy-Lieutenants for the county of Banff, hearing that Mar was cessing the people there,

Inhabitants of Banffshire harrassed by the rebels.

published a proclamation in the parish churches, prohibiting the payment of such impositions, and promising, that, when the security of Inverness was sufficiently provided for, they would be next considered. Wherefore, when the Earl came to Elgin, Colonel Grant being sent to the garrison at Ballveny, to glean intelligence, and to maintain a correspondence with the Earl, Captain Grant, Culloden, and the other Deputy-Lieutenants of Banff, entreated his Lordship to cross the Spey, reduce the lower end of the country, and thence proceed to the relief of their friends in the Boyne and Aberdeenshire, where numbers were anxiously waiting to join His Majesty's forces; the Earl, however, judged it more expedient to secure the safety of Inverness, which was again in hazard of being attacked by the rebels, who were now gathering together, after their return from Sherriff-muir. The disappointment proved very calamitous to those ministers and gentlemen who had issued the aforesaid proclamation; for, having lost hopes of relief from that quarter, they were more harrassed and insulted by the rebels than before.

The Grants being now allowed to go home, the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Rae, &c. marched back to Inverness with their men. Lord Lovat, Kilravock, and Sir Archibald Campbel of Clunie, with a force amounting to 600 men, remained at Elgin,

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till they had collected the requisitions which they had imposed for the maintainance of the troops.

As the early formation of the camp at Alness, and the good conduct of His Majesty's friends in the north, had kept the Earl of Seaforth and his accomplices a considerable time from joining the Earl of Mar, who would not attempt to pass the Forth, nor venture a battle with the Duke of Argyll without them: so this success in reducing Inverness, and the activity of the friends of the government there, obliged him to separate again very soon from the rebels at Perth, and return home for the safety of his country, where he arrived about the 1st of December, and towards the end of that month drew his men together, and concerted with the Marquis of Huntly, who was likewise returned with his men from Perth, to attack Inverness on both sides. The Earl of Sutherland having intelligence of this, resolved to reduce the Earl of Seaforth, lest he should be engaged by him and Huntly at once; he, therefore, marched out of Inverness 300 of his own men, with nearly the same number of the M'Kays, under the command of Mr Patrick M'Kay of Scourie, 300 Grants, under the command of Captain George Grant; 200 of the Rosses, under the command of Hugh Ross of Brealangwell, with about 200 of Colonel Monro's men, the rest of his men being left to keep the town. With these he march-

Submission of Seaforth and Huntly; defection of Seaforth.

ed to the muir of Gilliechrist, where they were joined by 500 of Lord Lovat's men. Seaforth had there rendezvoused about 1200 men, being all he was able to muster of those who had fled from Sherriff-muir; but, finding Lord Sutherland and the gentlemen with him resolute to force him to an engagement, he made his submission to the Government, which was transmitted to court; in which 'he owned King George to be his lawful Sovereign, and promised to deliver himself and his arms when and where the King should require him.' After which, the Earl of Sutherland returned to Inverness with all his people, on the 1st of January, 1716.—In a short time afterwards, the Marquis of Huntly gave in his submission, which he kept with more fidelity than the Earl of Seaforth did his. For the Earl, a few days after his submission, having received intelligence of the Chevalier's landing, collected his followers together again, placed guards upon the several passes and ferries, who robbed many of Lord Sutherland's, Lord Rae's, and the East Ross men, of their arms, as they were returning home, trusting to the submission. He also sent a party of 300 men to possess the town of Chanrie, to interrupt the communication betwixt Inverness and Ross. Lord Sutherland, having intelligence, sent Colonel Monro, with a detachment of 200 men, in boats from Inverness, to dispossess them of that place.

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The rebels, discovering them at a distance, drew up on the shore. The Colonel landed his men a mile from the town, but, while marching up to the attack, Sir John M'Kenzie of Coul appeared on his rear with 400 men. On which, the Colonel judged it more proper to retire to his boats, than to expose the handful of men he had with him to the evident danger of being surrounded by the enemy, and accordingly marched back, ordering the Sutherland men, with the M'Kays and Rosses, to embark first, and thereafter went on board with his own men; but the last of his boats being stranded on the shore, when the rebels came up, those in it were exposed to their shot, which the Colonel with his own 50 returned, keeping up an incessant fire on the enemy. The rest of the boats steered off to sea, notwithstanding all the signals given to bring them to the shore, leaving the Colonel alone to defend himself from the enemy, who, unable to withstand his efficient fire, retired from the shore. The Colonel, having got off his boats, returned to Inverness, which the Earl of Sutherland continued to defend till the termination of the rebellion, when it was garrisoned by regular troops.

The Earl of Mar, whom we left at Perth, was joined by M'Donald of Keppoch and his men, about the beginning of December. He issued a

Burntisland abandoned by the rebels.

proclamation demanding, to his army, 4 bolls of meal, or 4 pounds the boll, out of every 100 pound Scots of valued rent; and the weather being extremely cold, and fuel scarce, the violent frost having rendered it impracticable for them to be served with coals by water, as formerly, he compelled the county people to supply his army with blankets, and the neighbouring gentlemen to provide them with coals; which they had to convey from collieries, ten miles distant. The Earl, apprized of the preparations making to attack him, continued to fortify Perth with the utmost expedition.

The Dutch troops beginning to arrive, the Duke of Argyle sent orders to the Commodore of His Majesty's ships in Leith roads to cause one of the men-of-war to stand in to the harbour of Burntisland, and cannonade the town and castle; which he did for nearly two hours. The rebels imagining that, after the cannonading, the captain would land a party from the ship, or that a party of the Dutch and Swiss would attempt a descent, abandoned the garrison, leaving behind them six pieces of cannon, some small arms, and a considerable quantity of provisions. General Cadogan, who was then in Edinburgh, immediately despatched 100 of the Dutch and Swiss, with 70 of the new levies of Edinburgh, under the command of Sir Robert Montgomery of Skelmurlie,

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and a half-pay lieutenant, who took possession of that place on the 19th of December. Thereafter, other small garrisons of the rebels on the coast of Fife were abandoned.

The Duke of Argyle, hearing of this success, ordered three battalions of the Dutch troops to pass the Firth at Queen's-ferry, and take quarters at Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, and neighbouring towns; which completely secured that part of the country. His Grace sent Colonel Cathcart to Dunfermline, with a considerable detachment of horse and foot, for the better support of the forces in Fife; after which, the rebels entirely abandoned the county of Fife. The Earl of Rothes, resolving to raise the militia, wrote to several gentlemen, who, on the commencement of the rebellion had retreated to Edinburgh, to return to the country. He also wrote to the ministers, who had retired thither, to prevent their being carried to Perth, to return to their respective charges; which accordingly they did.

The Chevalier's adherents whom we left in Lancaster, having increased considerably, proceeded to collect the public money, as usual, seized six pieces of cannon in the harbour, and mounted them on new carriages. They then resolved on a march for Preston, designing to possess themselves of Warrington bridge, and the

General Forrester, and army, enter Preston.

town of Manchester, where they had assurances of considerable support. They imagined they would secure the rich and commercial town of Liverpool, which would be cut off from every relief, if they succeeded in seizing Warrington bridge.

They, accordingly, moved from Lancaster, on Wednesday, the 9th of November, taking the direct road to Preston. The day being rainy, they left the foot at a town called Garstang, mid-way betwixt Lancaster and Preston, ordering them to continue their march to Preston early next morning, which they did. They understood there, that two troops of Stanhope's dragoons, and part of a regiment of militia, commanded by Sir Henry Houghton, had removed and retired to Wigan, on their approach. This encouraged them exceedingly, conceiving that the King's forces were cowardly. They immediately marched to the cross, and proclaimed the Chevalier. While in Preston they were joined by many gentlemen of respectability, with their followers. They intended to continue their march, on Saturday, the 12th; but the precautions taken to frustrate their design on Liverpool, and the movements of His Majesty's troops, prevented their advance.

Having heard of their arrival in Lancaster, the merchants of Liverpool, and adjacent inhabitants, with the assistance of a great number of sailors, adopted every possible measure tending to secure

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the town: they laid a third part of their avenues under water, threw up an intrenchment which the water could not reach, on which they planted 70 pieces of cannon, and put off all their ships to sea; that the rebels might neither plunder the town, nor capture the shipping. Major-General Wills, who commanded in Cheshire, was ordered to draw together His Majesty's forces, and advance without delay, to meet these new invaders; and, if possible, seize on the passes of Warrington bridge and Preston. He immediately ordered some regiments which were quartered in Shropshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire, to assemble at Warrington, November 10th, whither he proceeded to assume the command. He reached Manchester, November 8th, in the morning, and received intelligence that General Carpenter had marched from Durham on the preceding day, with the regiments of dragoons of Cobham, Molesworth and Churchill, on his way to Lancaster, to attack the rebels. General Wills then acquainted him of the time he would be at Lancaster, that Carpenter might regulate his motions accordingly. But the rebels being apprized of General Carpenter's coming, prevented him, by marching to Preston.

On Friday, November 11th, Major-General Wills, with the dragoon regiments of Wynn, Honeywood, Munden, and Dormer, and Preston's

Major-Gen. Wills leaves Manchester to resist Gen. Forrester.

regiment of foot, marched from Manchester to Wigan, where Pitt and Stanhope's dragoons were quartered. The General ordered Newton's regiment of dragoons to remain in Manchester, to prevent the disaffected from rising in that town, as they intended. Having left Wigan, and understanding the rebels were still at Preston, he formed the horse into three brigades, viz. Wynn and Honeywood's, under the command of Brigadier Honeywood; Munden and Stanhope's, under the command of Brigadier Munden; Pitt and Dormer's, under the command of Brigadier Dormer.

Saturday, the 12th, they began their march, by day-break, in the following order:—Preston's regiment in advance, having a captain's company for the vanguard, supported by a troop of dragoons; Honeywood's brigade followed the foot; Dormer's after Honeywood's; next Munden's; and the baggage in the rear. About one o'clock, they reached the bridge of Ribble, one mile from Preston, where a detachment of foot and horse were stationed, belonging to the rebels. On the appearance of His Majesty's troops, they retired into the town, without disputing the passage. Having given the alarm, trenches were immediately thrown up round the town, the streets barricadoed, and men posted, advantageously, in the by-lanes and houses. His Majesty's forces having gained the rising ground in the neighbourhood of the town,

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halted, till the General had reconnoitred the fortifications. As soon as he returned, he ordered the following disposition for attack:—Preston's regiment of foot*, commanded by Lord Forrester; a captain and 50 dragoons of each of the five regiments, with a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, to command, to dismount to sustain Preston's; and Honeywood's regiment, mounted, to sustain them; the whole under the command of Brigadier General Honeywood: these were to make an attack on the avenue that leads to Wigan. The regiments of Wynn and Dormer, and a squadron of Stanhope's, were ordered to dismount, under the command of Brigadier Dormer; and Brigadier Munden, with the regiments of Pitt, Munden, and a squadron of Stanhope's dragoons, remained on horseback, to support Brigadier Dormer: these were to attack the avenue that leads to Lancaster, on the side opposite to that of Wigan. In this manner were the troops to be employed in the two attacks.

The dispositions being made, the Brigadiers received orders to endeavour to gain the suburbs, set fire to the houses, that the rebels might be dislodged from their barricade; and make such lodgements as would prevent the enemy from sallying, or making their escape.

* This is the old Scots regiment, commonly called the *Cameronian*, which belonged to the Earl of Angus; now the 26th.

Approach of the King's forces to Preston.

Brigadier Honeywood, with the troops under his command, marched and attacked the first barrier, which the rebels immediately abandoned, and occupied the second barricade, which was very strong both by nature and art, and on which they planted two pieces of cannon. Brigadier Honeywood finding that the taking of this barricade would cost him a great number of men, deemed it proper to take possession of two large houses within fifty yards of it, behind which he secured his men from the fire of the rebels, which was extremely annoying. He remained in this situation till night, and threw up breast-works to secure himself from sallies, and posted his men so advantageously that it was impossible for them to make their escape at that part of the town. He then set fire to the houses between him and the barricade, which was not accomplished, however, without the loss of some men.

Brigadier Dornier, with the troops under his command, gained possession of the other end of the town, but was exposed to a heavy fire in their approach. The Brigadier then ordered Captain Gardiner, Serjeant Johnston, and Corporal Marlow, with twelve of Stanhope's dragoons, to set the houses on fire, which was done very expeditiously. In this attack the Brigadier received a shot in his leg.

A little before day-break, the General viewed
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the posts, and ordered a communication to be opened betwixt the two attacks, in order to support each other, should it be required. Lieutenant Robinson then drew a trench to secure the troops, in the event of a sally.

On Sunday, the 13th of November, about noon, General Carpenter arrived, with the regiments of Cobham, Molesworth, and Churchill, and a considerable number of country gentlemen, among whom were the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, Colonel Darcy, and others. General Wills acquainted him with what he had done, the dispositions he had made, and then offered to resign the command to him, he being his superior officer. General Carpenter approved highly of what had been done, and generously refused to assume the command, saying to General Wills, 'he had begun the affair so well, that he ought to have the glory of finishing it.' However, having viewed the posts, and the situation of the enemy, and finding the principal part of the troops posted on one side of the town, and crowded in such a narrow position that only three or four could be brought up at once, General Carpenter recommended a distribution of the force: and, in particular, he suggested, that troops be posted at the end of Fishergate-street, which had hitherto been open, and by which several of the rebels had escaped. At the upper end of this street, (which

Complete circumvallation of Preston.

leads to a marsh, or meadow, running down to that part of the river Ribble, where there are two excellent fords, in the direct road to Liverpool), there was another barricade, with two pieces of cannon; but no attack could be made, because of the paucity of His Majesty's forces. Here General Carpenter ordered Colonel Pitt to post his two squadrons of horse, in order to prevent any more from escaping. The consequence of this was, that six or seven of the rebels, in despair, endeavouring to force their way and escape, fell in among Pitt's regiment, and were all cut to pieces.

The rebels being thus invested on all sides, and perceiving their hopeless condition, began to deliberate upon what was most expedient to be done. The Highlanders were for making a sally on the King's forces, and perishing sword in hand; but they were over-ruled. General Forrester, prevailed upon by Lord Widdrington, Colonel Oxburgh, and others, resolved on a capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining honourable terms. About two in the afternoon, Colonel Oxburgh was despatched to treat of a surrender; while, the soldiers in the garrison were informed, that Gen. Wills had offered honourable terms to them, provided they would lay down their arms and submit. Col. Oxburgh was told, 'that the rebels could expect no other terms than to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion.' Colonel Oxburgh still

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urged for better terms; but General Wills told him, ' that they must submit to the King's mercy, that no other terms could be made with them, and that if they laid down their arms and submitted prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them to pieces, till he had further orders, and that he would give them only one hour to consider of it.'* Colonel Oxburgh returned to General Forrester with this answer, and before the hour was elapsed, Captain Dalzel was sent out to General Wills to desire terms for the Scots. He received an answer similar to the above, when he requested further time for consideration†. About three o'clock in the afternoon, General Wills sent Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, his aide-de-camp, into the town to receive their final answer. General Forrester told him, that owing to disputes between the Scots and English, they would require a cessation of arms till next morning, when, he hoped, they would be enabled to give an answer to the satisfaction of General Wills. The General agreed to grant the time desired, provided no new intrenchments were formed, nor any suffered to make their escape; and that they

* See Major-General Wills' evidence at the bar of the House of Lords, on the Earl of Wintoun's trial.

† This was about the very time the battle of the Sherriff-muir was fought.

Intrepidity of the Highlanders.

would send out a Scottish and English officer of rank, as hostages for the performance. The Colonel returned with the answer, and these conditions being agreed to, he brought out the Earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier M'Intosh.

When the Highlanders were told of capitulating, they were mightily enraged, declaring they would sooner die fighting. All the arguments used for pacifying them were of no avail, for a considerable time. Confusion was prevalent in the town; soldiers threatening and killing each other, for mentioning a surrender. In these affrays, one was killed and several wounded. Many vociferated against General Forrester, and, had he appeared in the streets, he would certainly have been cut to pieces. He would have been killed in his own chamber by a Mr Murray, had not Mr Patten driven aside the pistol which was discharged at him, so that the ball went through the wainscot into the wall of the room*.

Next day, General Forrester informed Major-General Wills, that they would surrender themselves 'prisoners at discretion,' as he had demanded. Brigadier M'Intosh, when the message was brought, said, 'he could not bid them expect the Scots would surrender in that manner—the Scots were people of desperate fortunes; he had been a

* Patten's History of the Rebellion, 1715, p. 119, 120.

Progress of the rebellion in England

soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion.' To this General Wills answered, 'go back to your people again—I will attack the town; the consequence will be, that not a man of you will be spared.' M'Intosh went into the town, but came running out immediately, saying, 'the Lord Kenmure and the rest of the noblemen, with his brother, would surrender on terms such as the English had accepted.' The rebels having thus submitted to the mercy of the King, Colonel Cotton was sent to take possession of the town, and to disarm them. The Generals entered the town at the head of the troops, which came in at the end next Lancaster; while Brigadier Honeywood, with the remaining troops, entered at the opposite end of the town, with drums beating and colours flying. Both divisions met at the market-place, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms. The noblemen, gentlemen, and officers, were first secured, and placed under a guard in separate rooms in the inns. The Highlanders then laid down their arms, and retired into the church, under a strong guard. All being secured, General Carpenter sent off his troops to Wigan, that they might refresh themselves two or three days, and, on the 15th, left Preston himself, with the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, Colonel Darcy, &c. General Wills remaining to take care of the prisoners.

Surrender of Preston;—killed, wounded, and prisoners.

In this affair several were killed and wounded on both sides:—of His Majesty's forces, Brigadier Honeywood received a contusion on his shoulder; Major Bland, a slight wound in the arm; Lord Forrester, Lieutenant-Colonel of Preston's regiment, several wounds; Major Lawson, wounded; Brigadier Dormer, a contusion on his knee; Captain Ogilvy, son of Lord Ogilvy, wounded; Major Preston received a wound a little above the breast, and being taken by the rebels, died in their hands. Besides, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 1 cornet, 4 ensigns, and 77 private men, wounded; 2 captains, 1 ensign, and 53 serjeants and private men, killed: total 148, of which 92 belonged to Preston's regiment. Of the rebels, 17 were killed, and 25 wounded; being protected by their fortifications. Among the killed belonging to them were, Captain Peter Farquharson of Rochaley, Mr Clifton, brother to Sir Jervis Clifton, Colonel Brereton, Mr Hume, a cornet, Mr Scatterry, and a Highland Gentleman belonging to Lord Nairn.

Though the rebels in Preston were above 4000 strong, when it was invested by General Wills, yet, in spite of the utmost vigilance of His Majesty's troops in guarding the avenues, a great many made their escape, especially after they began to capitulate: so that, when they surrendered, the number of prisoners taken amounted only to 1497, including the seven Lords, with several gentle-

 Progress of the rebellion in England.

men, officers, and private men, among were two clergymen, Mr Patten and Mr Irving, previously mentioned. Of these prisoners, 470 were English, consisting of 75 noblemen and gentlemen, 83 followers and servants, and 305 private men; four of these were apprehended at Lancaster. Of the Scotch 143 were noblemen, officers, and gentlemen; their vassals, servants, &c. amounted to 862; amounting, with 17 taken at Lancaster, to 1022 men. The particular lists of these noblemen, gentlemen, &c. have been frequently published, and would be inserted here, did not matter of more importance prevent. However, for the reader's satisfaction, those that were most considerable, in respect of rank, both Scottish and English, will be mentioned:—

SCOTTISH:—The Earl of Nithsdale §, the Earl of Winton, the Earl of Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, Lord Nairn, Master of Nairn, Mr Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, Captain James Dalzell, uncle to the Earl of Carnwath; Edmund Maxwell of Carnselloch, William Grierson of Lag, Gilbert Grierson, his brother, Walter Riddel of Glenriddel, Charles Maxwell (alias Murray) of Cowhill, Andrew Cassie of Kirkhouse, Robert McLellan of Barscob, John Maxwell of Steilston, Matthew Hirstanes, brother to the Laird of Craigs, Mr William Irving; John Paterson of Prestonhall, James Paterson, his brother, William Anderson, William Maitland, Sir William Cockburn, John Masterton, Alexander Deans, Mark Carse of Cockpen, Alex.

* Those marked † were not conveyed to London; those with § are Papists.

Prisoners of rank taken in Preston.

ander Straton, Alexander Foulis of Ratha, William Dundass, David Hall, George Skinner, William Dalmarhoy of Raveling, Alexander Congalton, Alexander Dalmarhoy, William Dalmarhoy, sons to Sir Alexander Dalmarhoy, Francis Congalton, Robert Hepburn of Keith, John Hepburn his son, George Seaton of Barns, Andrew Pitcairn, James Nicolson, Thomas Anderson of Whitburgh, George Seaton of Garleton, William Dundass of Airth, David Bruce of Kinaird, Alexander Mills of Newmill, James Cornwall of Bonhard, Alexander Forrester of Carsbony, William M'Intosh of Borlam, John Hamilton of Pumpherston, Alexander Murray of Stanhope, James Hume of Aitona, John Cunninghame of Bogendgreen, Alexander Craw of Keirghead, George Hume of Wedderburn, George Hume, his son; George Hume of Whitfield, Alexander Hume, his son; George Winraham of Eymouth, John Winraham, his son; William Maxwel of Munshes, George Maxwel, his brother; Robert Carruthers of Rammerscales, Walter Scott of Wall, George Rutherford of Fairnington, Robert Johnston of Wamphray†, William Scott, &c.

ENGLISH:—Thomas Forrester, jun. of Etherston, a High Church Protestant General; the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, Mr Edward Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, Charles Radcliff, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, Charles Widdrington, and Peregrine Widdrington, brothers to the Lord Widdrington; Walter Tankard, John Thornton of Netherwitton, John Clavering, William Clavering, Nicholas Wogan and Robert Talbot, Irishmen; Robert Salkeld†, George Collingwood†, William Turnstall†, John Shaftoe, jun. of Bavington, Edward Swinbourn, James Swinbourn, brothers to Sir William Swinbourn of Capheaton; George Gibson of Stonecroft, Richard Chorely of Chorely†, Charles Chorely, his son; Ralph Standish of Standish, Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock, Richard Townley of Townley, John Dalton of Taurham, John

Prisoners of rank taken in Preston.

Leybourn of Natsby, Gabriel Hesketh of Whitehill, Cuthbert Hesketh, his son; Thomas Walton of Windor, Edward Tildesley of the Lodge, Thomas Errington of Beaufront, Philip Hudson Sandow, James Talbot an Irishman, George Saunderson of Highlee, Richard Gascoigne an Irishman, Richard Butler of Ratcliffe, Thomas Riddle, jun. of Swinbourn castle, William Sanderson of Highlee, Henry Oxburgh, John Towle, Irishmen; John Beaumont, John Clavering of Calilly, Albert Hodgson of Leighton, William Shaftoe of Bavington, William Ord of Wackworth Grange, Edward Shaftoe, Captain John Shaftoe, his son†; Edward Byers, Richard Stokoe, William Charleton, jun. of the Bower, John Talbot of Carrington†, Mr Robert Patten, minister of Allandale; Lyonel Walden, an Oxford student; Robert Cotton of Gedding, and John Cotton, his son, John Hunter‡, Thomas Lisle†, Thomas Forrester, John Crofts of Wooller, William Dobson, &c.

The greater part of these noblemen and gentlemen were conveyed to London. The private soldiers were placed under strong guards in the castles of Lancaster, Chester, Liverpool, and other places. A commission was then granted to proper Judges to hold a court of oyer and terminer at Liverpool, for their trial. The proceedings of this court shall be afterwards given, not to interrupt the history. Lord Charles Murray, younger son of the Duke of Athol; Major Nairn; Captain Philip Lockhart, brother of Mr Lockhart of Carnwath; Captain John Shaftoe; Ensign Erskine; and Ensign Dalzel, brother to the Earl of Carnwath; being half-pay officers, were considered deserters,

Disposal of the prisoners, their ignominious treatment, &c.

and appointed to be tried as such. Accordingly, on the 17th of November, a court-martial was summoned, and a Judge Advocate, with a commission, was sent to Preston, where, on the 28th of that month, the trials commenced. Ensign Dalzel was acquitted of desertion, having proven that he had resigned his commission, before he engaged in the rebellion. The other five were found guilty, and were sentenced to be shot, which was put in execution on the 2d of December. Lord Charles Murray was reprieved, and afterwards made his escape.

The prisoners appointed to be conveyed to London, arrived there on the 9th of December. They were brought to Highgate by Brigadier Panton, with a guard of 100 of Lumley's regiment of horse, and were received by Major-General Tatton, at the head of a detachment of 300 of the foot guards, and 120 of the horse grenadier guards. Each of the prisoners had his arms tied behind his back, with a foot soldier leading his horse. They were ranged into four divisions, according to the four different prisons to which they were allotted, and each division guarded by a party of the horse grenadiers, and a platoon of the foot. In this manner General Tatton left Highgate about noon, and proceeded to London, through innumerable crowds of spectators. The noblemen were sent to the tower; General Forrester, Brigadier M'Intosh,

Conclusion of the rebellion in England.

and about 70 more to Newgate; 60 to the Marshalsea, and 70 to the Fleet.

It may be proper to notice, that, on the 16th of November, 3000 of the Dutch auxiliaries arrived in the river Thames, and afterwards landed at Deptford. The other 3000 proceeded northward, in order to land in Scotland, but a sudden storm arising, and the winds being contrary, one of the vessels, and 28 of the men, were lost; the rest were driven into Harwich, Yarmouth, and adjacent harbours. The troops not being used to the sea, suffered so much, that some of them were very desirous to land, and to march wherever the King thought fit. Their request was complied with, and they were ordered to proceed by land to Scotland. The Government considering that the rebellion in England was entirely suppressed, and seeing so hopeful a prospect of putting a period to the rebellion in Scotland, if the rebels had not time to rally their troops, and recover themselves from the consternation they were under, ordered the 3000 men who landed at Deptford, as well as some troops in the north of England, to march immediately to Scotland to join His Majesty's forces, commanded by the Duke of Argyle. Accordingly, the Dutch forces having refreshed themselves in their quarters, in the Tower Hamlets and Southwark, departed about the 25th of November, and so regulated their march with that of the

Departure of the Chevalier from France.

other 3000 Dutch, that they arrived at Leith, and the other places to which they were directed, at the same time. On the 27th, the regiments of Newton and Stanhope set out from Preston, and, having come to Dalkeith, were ordered to quarter at Glasgow, where they arrived on the 19th of December, before which time the Dutch troops, who continued their voyage by sea, were come up.

The day before the Dutch troops arrived at Deptford, General Cadogan arrived in London from Flanders, by the way of Dover. And it being resolved to dislodge the rebels from Perth, that General, pursuant to His Majesty's orders, set out on the 29th of November for Scotland. Brigadier Petit, with six engineers, was ordered to proceed thither with all possible speed. An excellent train of artillery was also shipped from the tower for the same destination.

THE Chevalier, on the repeated invitations of the Earl of Mar and his adherents in Scotland, went several times aboard the ships at St. Maloes, which were laden with arms and ammunition for his service; but not thinking it adviseable to venture himself, he deferred his departure, and traversed Normandy, to embark at Dunkirk. Having lurked some days in several parts on the coasts of Britany, in the habit of a mariner, he went private-

The Chevalier lands at Peterhead;

ly to Dunkirk, where he embarked, with the Marquis of Tynemouth, son to the Duke of Berwick, Lieutenant Cameron, and three or four others, in a French vessel, formerly a privateer of 8 guns, well manned and armed. Being thus embarked, he immediately sailed toward Tetneuse in Norway, but, changing their course, steered towards Peterhead, where he arrived the 22d of December, 1717, after a voyage of seven days. Being come on shore with a retinué of six gentlemen, the ship immediately returned for France with the news of his safe arrival. Lieutenant Cameron was despatched to Perth, where he arrived on the 26th, with the acceptable tidings to the Earl of Mar, who immediately departed, with the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and twenty or thirty persons of quality, to attend the Chevalier. The Chevalier, and those who had debarked with him, lodged one night in Peterhead, disguised as sea officers; next night at Newburgh, the seat of the Earl Marischal; on the 24th, they passed *incog.* through Aberdeen, with two baggage horses, and at night came to Fetterosse, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal, where he remained till the 27th, when the Earl of Mar, Marischal, and Hamilton waited on him. Having dressed and discovered himself, they all kissed his hand, and acknowledged him to be their king. Having proclaimed him at the gates of the house, General

His declaration, dated Commercy, Oct. 25th.

Hamilton was sent over to France to solicit supplies for his service.

He intended to proceed on his journey to Perth next day, but was seized with an aguish distemper, which detained him several days at Fetterosse. During this time, his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and dispersed in several places under his influence. Copies of it were dropped during the night, in the streets of some loyal cities and towns, where his friends durst not publish it openly. Its tenor is as follows:—

HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS DECLARATION.

‘JAMES REX,

James the VIII. by the grace of God, of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, King; Defender of the Faith; to all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting:—

‘As we are firmly resolved never to lose an opportunity of asserting our undoubted title to the imperial crown of these realms, and of endeavouring to get the possession of that right which is devolved upon us by the law of God and man, so we must, in justice to the sentiments of our own hearts, declare that nothing in the world can give us so great satisfaction as to owe to the endeavours of our loyal subjects, both our own and their restoration to that happy settlement, which can alone deliver this church and nation from the ca-

The Chevalier's declaration.

laminities which they at present lie under, and those future miseries which may be the consequences of the present usurpation. During the life of our dear sister, of glorious memory, the happiness which our people enjoyed softened in some degree the hardship of our own fate; and we must confess that when we reflected on the goodness of her nature, and her inclination to justice, we could not but persuade ourself, that she intended to establish and perpetuate the peace which she had given to these kingdoms, by destroying for ever all competitions to the succession of the crown; and by securing to us, at last, the enjoyment of that inheritance out of which we had been so long kept; which her conscience must inform her was our due, and which her principles must bind her to desire, that we might obtain.

‘But since the time it pleased Almighty God to put a period to her life, and not to suffer us to throw ourself, as we then fully purposed to have done, upon our people, we have not been able to look upon the present condition of our kingdoms, or to consider their future prospect, without all the horror and indignation which ought to fill the breast of every Scotchman.

‘We have beheld a foreign family, aliens to our country, distant in blood, and strangers even to our language, ascend the throne.

‘We have seen the reins of government put into

The Chevalier's declaration.

the hands of a faction, and that authority which was designed for the protection of all exercised by a few of the worst, to the oppression of the best and greatest number of our subjects. Our sister has not been allowed to rest in her grave, her name has been scurrilously abused, her glory, as far as in the people lay, insolently defaced, and her faithful servants inhumanly persecuted. A Parliament has been procured by the most unwarrantable influences, and by the grossest corruptions to serve the vilest ends; and they who ought to be the guardians of the liberties of the people, are become the instances of tyranny. Whilst the principal powers engaged in the late war enjoy the blessings of peace, and are attentive to discharge their debts and ease the people, Great Britain, in the midst of a peace, feels all the load of a war: new debts are contracted—new armies are raised at home—Dutch forces are brought into these kingdoms—and, by taking possession of the Duchy of Bremen, in violation of the public faith, a door is opened by the Usurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce these nations to the state of a province—to one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the Empire. These are some few of the many real evils into which these kingdoms have been betrayed, under pretences of being rescued and secured from dangers purely imaginary; and these are such conse-

The Chevalier's declaration.

quences of abandoning the old constitution, as we persuade ourselves very many of those who promote the present unjust and illegal settlement never intended. We observe, with the utmost satisfaction, that the generality of our subjects are awakened with a just sense of their danger, and that they shew themselves disposed to take such measures as may effectually rescue them from that bondage which has, by the artifices of a few designing men, and by the concurrence of so many causes, been brought upon them.

We adore the wisdom of the Divine Providence which has opened a way to our restoration, by the success of those very measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever; and we must earnestly conjure all our loving subjects not to suffer that spirit to faint or die away which has been so miraculously raised in all parts of the kingdom, but to pursue, with all the vigour and hopes which such a just and righteous cause ought to inspire, those methods which the finger of God seem to point out to them. We are come to take our part in all dangers and difficulties to which any of our subjects, from the greatest down to the meanest, may be exposed, on this important occasion; to relieve our subjects of Scotland from the hardships they groan under, on account of the late union; and to restore the kingdom to its ancient, free, and independent state.

The Chevalier's declaration.

• We have before our eyes the example of our royal grandfather, who fell a sacrifice to rebellion; and, of our royal uncle, who, by a train of miracles, escaped the rage of the barbarous and blood-thirsty rebels, and lived to exercise his clemency towards those who had waged war against his father and himself, who had driven him to seek shelter in foreign lands, and who had even set a price upon his head.

• We see the same instances of cruelty renewed against us by men of the same principles, without any other reason than the consciousness of their own guilt, and the implacable malice of their own hearts; for, in the account of such men it is a sufficient crime to be born their king. But God forbid that we should tread in those steps, or that the cause of a lawful Prince and an injured people should be carried on like that of usurpation and tyranny, and owe its support to assassins. We shall copy after the patterns above-mentioned, and be ready, with the former of our royal ancestors, to seal the cause of country, if such be the will of Heaven, with our blood. But we hope for better things—we hope, with the latter, to see our just rights, and those of the church and people of Scotland, once more settled in a free and independent Scots Parliament, on the ancient foundation. To such a Parliament, which we shall immediately call, shall we entirely refer both our

The Chevalier's declaration.

and their interests, being sensible that these interests, rightly understood, are always the same. Let the civil, as well as the religious rights of all our subjects receive their confirmation in such a Parliament; let consciences truly tender be indulged; let property of every kind be better than ever secured; let an act of general grace and amnesty, extinguish the fears of the most guilty, if possible; let the very remembrance of all that has preceded this happy moment be utterly blotted out, that our subjects may be united to us; and to each other, in the strictest bonds of affection as well as interest. And that nothing may be omitted which is in our power to contribute to this desirable end, We do, by these presents, absolutely and effectually for us, our heirs and successors, pardon, remit, and discharge all crimes of high treason, misprision of treason, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever, done or committed against us, or our royal father, of blessed memory, by any of our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who shall at, or after, our landing, and before they engage in any action against us, or our forces, from that time lay hold on mercy, and return to that duty and allegiance which they owe to us, their only rightful and lawful Sovereign. By the joint endeavour of us and our Parliaments, urged by these motives, and directed by these views, we may hope to see the peace and flourish.

The Chevalier's declaration.

ing state of this kingdom, in a short time, restored. And we shall be equally forward to concert with our Parliament such further measures as may be thought necessary for leaving the same to future generations.

‘ And we hereby require all sherriffs of shires, stewarts of stewartries, or their deputies, and magistrates of burghs, to publish this our declaration immediately after it shall come to their hands, in the usual places and manner, under the pain of being proceeded against for failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of our general pardon.

‘ Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our Court of Commercy, the 25th day of October, in the fifteenth year of our reign.’*

* The Chevalier was followed, soon after his landing, by two small vessels in company, having his equipage and domestics on board. One of them got safe to Dundee, but the other three stranded near St Andrews and was staved to pieces, the men and goods being saved. Among the passengers were Sir John Erskine of Alva, who had previously been sent by the Earl of Mar into France, with a message; Brigadier Bulkly, brother to the Duchess of Berwick, &c. The passengers went immediately on foot to St Andrews, where they got horses and went to Dundee; whence 100 of the rebels came next day and conveyed away the money and the rest of the cargo. A short time after, another vessel from France, for the Chevalier's service, was cast away near Arbroath. The crew, chiefly Scotsmen, and the mo-

Address of the Episcopal Clergy

On Thursday, the 29th December, the Episcopal clergy in the diocese of Aberdeen, presented the Chevalier with the following address:—

‘TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

‘The humble Address of the Episcopal Clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, presented to His Majesty by the Reverend Doctors James and George Garden, Dr Burnet, Mr Dunbreck, Mr Blair, and Mr Maitland, at Fetterosse, the 29th of December, 1715, introduced by his Grace the Duke of Mar, and the Right Honourable the Earl Marischal of Scotland.

‘SIRE,—We, your Majesty’s most faithful and dutiful subjects, the Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, do, from our hearts, render thanks to Almighty God, for your Majesty’s safe and happy arrival into this your ancient kingdom of Scotland, where your royal presence was so much longed for, and so necessary to animate your loyal subjects, our noble and generous patriots, to go on with that invincible courage and resolution which they have hitherto so successfully exerted, for the recovery of the rights of their king and country, and to excite many others of your good subjects to join them, who only wanted this great encouragement.

‘We hope and pray that God may open the eyes of such of your subjects, as malicious and self-designing men have industriously blinded with prejudices against your Majesty, as if the recovery of your just rights would ruin our religion, liberties, and property, which, by the overturning of these rights, have been

ney on board, were said to be lost. Several other ships sailed from Dieppe and Havre de Grace, with arms, ammunition, money, and officers, for the Chevalier’s service, and actually arrived in Scotland,

in Aberdeen to the Chevalier.

highly encroached upon; and we are persuaded, that your Majesty's justice and goodness will settle and secure those just privileges, to the conviction of your most malicious enemies.

' Almighty God has been pleased to train up your Majesty from your infancy, in the school of the cross, in which the Divine grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue, and guards it against those false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart: and as this school has sent forth the most illustrious princes, as Moses, Joseph, and David; so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make your Majesty, not only a blessing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but also a great instrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

' Your Princely virtues are such, that, in the esteem of the best judges, you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your Majesty's care to make your subjects a happy people, and so to secure them in their religion, liberties, and property, as to leave no just ground of distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity, according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the primitive Christians.

' We adore the goodness of God, in preserving your Majesty amidst the many dangers to which you have been exposed, notwithstanding the hellish contrivances formed against you, for encouraging assassins to murder your sacred person, a practice abhorred by the very heathens. May the same merciful Providence continue still to protect your Majesty, to prosper your arms, to turn the hearts of all the people towards you, to subdue those who resist your just pretensions, to establish you on the throne of your ancestors, to grant you a long and happy reign, to bless you with a royal progeny, and at last with an immortal crown of glory. And as it has been, still is, and shall be our care, to instil into the minds of the people true prin-

Magistrates of Aberdeen's address to the Chevalier.

ciples of loyalty to your Majesty, so this is the earnest prayer of,

(May it please your Majesty),

Your Majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and most humble subjects and servants.

To this address the Chevalier was pleased to give the following answer:—‘I am very sensible of the zeal and loyalty you have expressed for me, and shall be glad to have an opportunity of giving you marks of my favour and protection.’

About the same time, the magistrates*, town council, and citizens of Aberdeen, followed the example of their clergy, and addressed the Chevalier in the following manner:—

‘TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

‘SIR,—We, your ever loyal and dutiful subjects, the magistrates, town council, and other your Majesty’s loyal subjects, citizens of Aberdeen, do heartily congratulate your arrival to this your native and hereditary kingdom. Heaven very often enhances our blessings by disappointments; and your Majesty’s safe arrival, after such a train of difficulties, and so many attempts, makes us not doubt but that God is propitious to your just cause.

‘As your Majesty’s arrival was seasonable, so it was surprising. We were happy, and we knew it not. We had the blessing we wished for, yet insensible, till now, that your Majesty

* These magistrates and council were of the Earl of Mar’s appointment.

He enters Dundee with a numerous retinue.

has been pleased to let us know, that we are the happiest, and, as so we shall endeavour to be, the most loyal of,

(May it please your Majesty,) &c.

To this address the Chevalier returned the following answer:—‘I am very sensible of the duty and zeal you express for me in this address, and you may assure yourselves of my protection.’

Having assumed the style and title of a King, and received the usual homage by the addresses of the people, the Chevalier next assumed the regal authority, by conferring titles of honour, as knighthood, nobility and ecclesiastical dignities on such as were zealous for him. He conferred the honour of knighthood on Provost Bannerman, who presented this last address; and also made several lords and bishops.

The Chevalier, being recovered from his illness, went from Fetterosse to Brechin, on Monday the 2d of January, where he stayed till Wednesday, when he came to Kinnaird; on Thursday to Glames; and on Friday, about 11 o'clock, forenoon, he made his public entry, on horseback, into Dundee, the Earl of Mar on his right, and the Earl Marischal on his left, with a retinue of about three hundred, also on horseback. His friends desiring it, he continued about an hour in the market place, where many of the people kissed his hand; he then went and dined at Stuart's of Garntully, where he lodged that night. On Saturday, he went from

Proceedings of the British Parliament

Dundee to Castle-Lion, a seat of the Earl of Strathmore, where he dined; and after, to Sir David Triplin's, where he lodged; and on Sunday, the 8th of January, he arrived at Scoon, about two miles from Perth. On Monday, the 9th, he made his public entry into Perth, where he reviewed some of the soldiers quartered in the town, who were drawn out for the purpose, and returned the same night to Scoon.

That same day, the British Parliament met, after several prorogations; and the King made a long and animated speech to both Houses, wherein he tells them, amongst other things, that 'the Pretender, as I have reason to believe, is now landed in Scotland.—Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects more sensibly, than that extraordinary burden which it has, and must create to my faithful subjects. To ease them as far as lies in my power, I take this first opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the estates that shall become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expense incurred on this occasion. Let those whose fatal counsels laid the foundation of all those mischiefs, and those whose private discontents and disappointments, disguised under false pretences, have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their own destruction, answer for the miseries in which they have involv-

respecting the Chevalier's invasion.

ed their fellow-subjects. I question not, but that, with the continuance of God's blessing, who alone is able to form good out of evil, and, with the cheerful assistance of my Parliament, we shall, in a short time, see this rebellion end, not only in restoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring a firm and lasting establishment of that excellent constitution in church and state, which it was manifestly designed to subvert; and that this open and flagrant attempt, in favour of Popery, will abandon all other distinctions among us, but of such as are zealous assertors of the liberties of their country, the present establishment, and the Protestant religion, and of such as are endeavouring to subject the nation to the revenge and tyranny of a Popish Pretender.'

Upon this, both Houses of Parliament immediately voted most zealous and loyal addresses of thanks to His Majesty, in the usual form, in answer to the several heads of his speech from the throne; wherein they 'congratulate His Majesty upon the success that attended his arms; and, with the greatest satisfaction observe, that the officers and soldiers of the army, have, by a brave and faithful discharge of their duty, deserved His Majesty's approbation; shewing their gratitude to His Majesty for his gracious and unparalleled resolution to give up all the estates that shall become forfeited by the rebellion, to the use of the public; and, that

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this rebellion, (for which not the least colour of provocation has been given) as it ought, very justly, to be the object of His Majesty's contempt, so it raises in them the highest resentment and indignation against those ungrateful and desperate rebels, whose pernicious principles, private discontents and disappointments, have engaged them to involve their country in blood and confusion: That the landing of the Pretender in Scotland will only serve to animate this zeal for His Majesty, and they doubt not but it will prove his last effort for disturbing the peace of His Majesty's reign: That they detest, and will do their utmost to confound, the devices of those, who, professing an unlimited obedience, have stirred up a rebellion against His Majesty, and under the disguise of the danger of the church, are endeavouring to introduce Popery. They likewise offer their lives and fortunes in defence of his Majesty's undoubted title to the crown, in support of the Protestant religion, and in maintenance of the liberty and property of the subject; and do most readily promise to grant such early and effectual supplies, as may enable his Majesty to put an end to this unnatural rebellion; to confound and extinguish, for ever, all hopes of the Pretender; his open and secret abettors; and secure the future peace and tranquillity of his Majesty's kingdoms,' &c.

As soon as the Commons had voted their ad-

respecting the Chevalier's invasion.

dress, they appointed a Committee for drawing it up, as is usual; and then proceeding to the debate concerning the prisoners taken in rebellion, Mr Lechmere acquainted the House, that he had something to offer unto them, which was of great importance to the king and kingdom; and wherein the Lords being concerned also, he desired a message might be sent up to acquaint them, that this House, having some matters of great consequence to communicate to them, desired that their Lordships would continue sitting for some time; upon which, the House named Mr Lechmere to carry up the said message. After which, he returned and made a memorable speech, which opened the grand scene of affairs, that were to come under the consideration of the Commons in this session of Parliament; discovered the rise, depth and extent of the present conspiracy, as well as cleared some difficult points relating to our excellent constitution; and made a due impression on the majority of that great assembly, who, by their affection to the present happy settlement, were already prepared to exert themselves in vindication of their injured country. It was then resolved, *nem. con.* ' that this House impeach James Earl of Derwentwater, of high treason. And, upon the motions severally made by Mr Pultney, Mr Boscawen, Mr Hampden, Lord Finch, the Earl of Hertford, and Mr Wortley, it was also severally resolved, *nem.*

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con. to impeach William Lord Widdrington, William Earl of Nithsdale, Robert Earl of Carnwath, George Earl of Winton, William Viscount Kenmure, and William Lord Nairn, of high treason. Then Mr Lechmere, and the other six impeaching members, were severally ordered to carry up an impeachment to the Lords, in the usual form; which was accordingly done.

The same evening, a Committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached Lords; of which Committee Mr Lechmere was chairman; and so zealous were they in this work, that though it was already late, they withdrew immediately, and in less than two hours, made their report, and delivered in the articles of impeachment against them all; where they were twice read, and, with some few amendments, agreed to by the House, and ordered to be engrossed, with the usual saving clause. Upon this the clerks were immediately set to work, and another message being sent to the Lords to desire them to continue sitting, the engrossed articles were brought in, and the House had them read a third time and passed; and ordered Mr Lechmere to carry them to the Lords the very same night, which was accordingly done about ten o'clock. The next day, the 10th of January, the impeached Lords were brought up to the bar of the House of Lords, where the articles of impeachment against

respecting the Chevalier's invasion.

them were read, copies of them were ordered to be delivered to them, and they were ordered to put in their answers the Monday following. At the same time, that august assembly, to shew all possible favour to persons of their own rank, under such unfortunate circumstances, was pleased, upon their request, to let them know, that not only what council they should think fit to pitch upon, but also such other persons, either Peers or Commoners, whom they should name to assist them, and solicit for them, should have leave of that house, to have free intercourse with them. But these impeached Lords, not being ready to put in their answers as they were appointed, petitioned the House of Peers for a longer time, and they were allowed till Thursday the 19th, when their trial came on, which will be taken notice of hereafter.

Upon the 11th of January, the Lords and Commons, though in different bodies, presented their above-mentioned addresses to the King, and, a bill to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for six months longer. Being prepared and ready, the King came to the House of Peers upon the 21st, and having given the royal assent to the foresaid bill, His Majesty to both Houses made the following speech :—

‘ My Lords, and Gentlemen, I had reason to believe, when I spoke last to you, that the Pretender was landed in Scotland; the accounts that I have

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received since, do put it beyond all doubt that he is heading the rebellion there, and does assume the style and title of King of these realms; and his adherents do likewise confidently affirm, that assurances are given them of support from abroad. This Parliament hath, on all occasions, expressed so much duty to me, and so true a regard for the religious and civil rights of my people, that, I am persuaded, this daring presumption of our enemies will heighten your just indignation against them, and beget such further resolutions, as, with the blessing of God, will enable me to defeat their attempts.

‘Gentlemen of the House of Commons, The most effectual way to put a speedy end to these troubles, will be to make such provision as may discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels; I do therefore hope, that every sincere Protestant, and true Briton, will look upon the extraordinary expense, which a timely preparation may require, to be the best husbandry; since it will, in all human probability, prevent that desolation, and those calamities, which would unavoidably ensue, if the rebellion should be suffered to spread, and be supported by Popish forces from abroad.

‘My Lords and Gentlemen, The world must be convinced by all you have already done, that you have nothing but the honour and interest of your country at heart; and for my own part,

respecting the Chevalier's invasion.

I rely entirely upon you, and doubt not, but you will take such resolutions at this juncture, as will be most for the present safety, and future ease of my people.'

The two Houses of Parliament presented to the King two very loyal and dutiful addresses, suitable to the several heads of this speech; assuring His Majesty, that the landing of the Pretender in this kingdom, hath increased their indignation against him and his adherents; that they are firmly and unalterably resolved to spare no expense, and to decline no hazard, for the support of His Majesty's title and government; and expressing their forward zeal and readiness to do every thing in their power, requisite to assist His Majesty, not only in subduing the present rebellion, but in destroying the seeds and causes of it, that the like disturbance may never rise again to impair the blessings of His Majesty's reign.

But, lest the reader think we digress too far, we return to give some further account of the actings of the Chevalier, whom we left at Scoon. After he was returned from Perth, as before related, he fixed his council, on Monday, the 16th of January, in which he made a speech, which was handed about a few days after, wherein he tells them, he was now, on their repeated invitations, come among them—relies on their loyalty and fidelity—he believes they are already convinced of his good intentions

Progress of the Chevalier;

to restore the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom; adding, 'let those who forget their allegiance, and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen: for me, it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate; my whole life, even from my cradle, has shewn a constant series of misfortunes, &c. Hoping, also, that the preparations making against him will quicken their resolutions, and convince others, from whom he hath had assurances, that it is not now time to dispute what they have to do: recommends to his council what is necessary to be done in the present conjuncture; and, next to God, relies on their council and resolution.'

He then promulgated several proclamations: one for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; another for praying for him in churches; a third for the currency of all foreign coin; a fourth for the meeting of a convention of states; a fifth for all fencible men, from 16 to 60, to repair to his royal standard; and a sixth for his coronation, which was fixed for the 23d of January.

But, as he never attended any Protestant, though Episcopal worship, nor heard any Protestant so much as say grace to him; and constantly employed his own confessor, Father Innes, to say the *Paternoster* and *Ave Marias* for him; so he shewed an invincible reluctance to comply with the usual form of the coronation oath, obliging the so-

his proceedings while in Scotland.

vereign to maintain the established religion. This occasioned the putting off that ceremony for a time; and, as his avowed bigotry to Popery occasioned great divisions among his few counsellors, so it cooled the affections of his female friends, the Episcopal ladies, who, entertaining the notion of his being a Protestant, had excited their husbands to take arms for him. Upon the 17th of January, he gave an impolitic instance of his cruelty; for hearing that the Duke of Argyle made great preparations to march against him, he signed the following order for burning the towns, villages, and houses, and destroying the corn and forage between Dunblane and Perth:—

‘ JAMES REX,

‘ Whereas, it is absolutely necessary for our service and the public safety, that the enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their march towards us, if they should attempt any thing against us or our forces, and as this can by no means be better effected than by destroying all the corn and forage which may serve to support them on their march, and burning the houses and villages which may be necessary for quartering the enemy, which nevertheless it is our meaning should only be done in case of absolute necessity, concerning which we have given our full instructions to James Graham, younger of Braco: These are therefore ordering and requiring you, how soon this order shall be put into your hands by the said James Graham, forthwith, with the garrison under your command, to burn and destroy the village of Auchterarder, and all the houses, corn, and forage whatsoever within the said town, so as they may be rendered entirely useless to the

Preparations of the Duke of Argyle

enemy. For doing whereof, this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution hereof, a sufficient warrant.

‘ Given at our Court of Scoon, this 17th day of January, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1715-16.

By His Majesty’s command,

MAR.

To Colonel Patrick Graham,
or the Commanding Officer,
for the time, of our garrison
for Tullibardine. }

The Duke of Argyle, being assured that the last of the Dutch troops were come past the borders, in order to join him, and that the great train of artillery which was shipped off at London for this expedition, was wind-bound in the mouth of the Thames, and seeing that the season of the year promised rather a continued storm than any hopes of a change of weather, and that the circumstances of his Majesty’s affairs required all possible despatch; sent to the governor of Berwick to furnish him with as many great guns, as, with those that could be got in the castle of Edinburgh, might make a sufficient train for the present occasion; which being readily complied with, his Grace, upon Wednesday the 3d of January, sent Brigadier Petit, a skilful engineer, and the Commissary of the Scots field train, to Edinburgh, with express orders to make up a train of twelve battering guns, of 18, 12, and 9-pounders, and six small field pieces of 6’s and 4’s, from Edinburgh castle and

to prevent the advance of the Chevalier.

Berwick, to be added to the six 3-pounders formerly at the camp at Stirling, with six mortars, making in all twenty-four pieces of cannon, and six mortars; and to hire out of the Dutch and British troops, fifty who were skilled in gunnery, to be added to the old Scots corps of gunners, then at Stirling, consisting of twenty; with power to appoint proper officers. They were likewise ordered to get what ammunition and other warlike stores would be necessary for the said train, and nine thousand men, either for siege or battle, in readiness with the utmost expedition; together with pontoons for crossing rivers, &c. which was accordingly begun, on the 4th, with all possible diligence.

On the 8th, General Cadogan was sent to Edinburgh to order the proper officers to press fifteen hundred horses to bring the said cannon from Berwick, which was done also under a guard of five hundred men. Next day, he returned to Stirling, to assist at a general council of war,* which the

* It is very remarkable, that the councils of war, and all the concerts and meetings of the general officers at Stirling, against the Chevalier, were held and concluded in the very same room wherein the Earl of Argyle entertained King James, then Duke of York, in the year 1680; at the conclusion of which entertainment, the Duke of York proposed to him the taking away the penal and sanguinary laws against Papists, &c. for refusing to concur in which, the Earl was at length involved in those circumstances, which occasioned the loss of his life.

Preparations of the Duke of Argyle

Duke of Argyle had called; and the Dutch troops having all arrived, the march of the army was fully concerted, and orders given to have every thing in readiness by the time the artillery could come up.

On the 21st of January, Colonel Guest, with two hundred dragoons, was detached from Stirling to reconnoitre the roads leading to Perth, which were covered with a very deep snow; and to discover, if possible, the posture of the enemy. The Colonel did as he was commanded, and brought back accounts to the general. His rapid progress much alarmed the enemy, and put the town of Perth into great confusion, some country people coming in full speed and telling them that the Duke of Argyle, with all his cavalry, and 4000 foot mounted on horses, were in full march to attack them. Nor was their fright abated till a party of horse, being sent to Tullibardine to view the roads in every direction, sent word all things were quiet, and that no enemy appeared. From this time, however, till the rebels left Perth, there was nothing to be seen but planting of guns, marking out breast-works and trenches, digging up stones in the streets, and laying them with sand, to prevent the effects of a bombardment; in short, all possible preparations were made, as if they had really intended to defend the place, (though some think they had no such design) insomuch that all our

to prevent the advance of the Chevalier.

public accounts, at that time, assured us, that the Chevalier and his people resolved to fight his Majesty's army.

Soon after, the Duke of Argyle sent out General Cadogan with a strong detachment of horse and foot, to take post at Dunblane, and to send a party to Doune; and on the 24th, his Grace marched out to Dunblane, with two hundred horse, and, taking thence General Cadogan with as many more, went to view the roads, as far as Auchterarder, and returning at night to their respective quarters. This march put the rebels into so great a consternation, that they abandoned their garrisons, and retired behind the river Ern, where they gave out that they were resolved to rally and fight the King's army, commanded by the Duke of Argyle. And having intelligence that his Grace had posted 3000 men, as his advanced guard, at Dunblane and Doune, they sent 3000 Highlanders from the garrisons of Braco, Tullibardine, and other neighbouring garrisons, who, agreeably to the Chevalier's orders, burned the towns and villages of Auchterarder, Crieff, Blackford, Dunning, and Muthil; with what corn and forage they were unable to carry away. The poor inhabitants were exposed to the inclemency of the season, and some decrepid people and children were smothered in the flames.

The same day, the Duke went to view the roads.

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There had been a sudden thaw, followed by a heavy fall of snow, to the depth of three feet, and immediately a severe frost, rendering the roads almost impassable for the infantry. Several of the officers gave it as their opinion, that the march should be delayed till the weather became answerable. But his Grace having received positive orders from Court to proceed forthwith against the rebels, he resolved to surmount all difficulties, and to march as soon as the artillery and some of the Dutch forces at Edinburgh, and the regiments of Newton and Stanhope, quartered at Glasgow, could join him; which they did two or three days after.

The train of artillery from Berwick, and some of that from Edinburgh, arrived at Stirling on the 26th; but the making the pontoons, new travelling carriages for the heavy cannon, repairing the old ones, and building up and making such other instruments of war as the magazines here could not furnish, took up till the 28th, before the last of our convoy got clear for Stirling. On the same day, Colonel Borgard, with the English train, which had been detained by the stormy weather, arrived in Leith roads. Having got notice at Edinburgh that there was sufficient train already provided for that expedition, he left his guns, mortars, and stores, on board, and, with his company of gunners, engineers, and firemen, whom he seemed rather to

Advance of the Duke of Argyle to Tullibardine.

trust than those picked up foreigners he had no knowledge of, marched up to Stirling with all possible speed, where he arrived on the 29th, in the morning, just in time to go along with the army.

A few days before this, the Duke of Argyle ordered the Lieutenants of the county of Stirling to issue their commands for getting two or three hundred pioneers and workmen to clear the roads of snow, and make them passable from Stirling to Dunblane, with express orders to forward a similar command to all the places leading to Perth; which were punctually executed. The Duke then commenced his march, on Sunday the 29th of January, and arrived at Dunblane, having left the town and castle of Stirling sufficiently protected. That morning a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot, with two pieces of cannon, approaching the castle of Braco, twelve miles from Stirling, compelled the rebels in garrison there to abandon it, and immediately took possession. Next morning the same detachment left the garrison of Braco, and marched towards Tullibardine, to dislodge the rebels there, and protect the inhabitants, who, to the amount of 2000 men, were employed in clearing the roads of snow, and rendering them commodious for the advance of the army, which that day advanced to Auchterarder, where the rebels had committed numerous ravages. The soldiers of the detachment were

Debate in the Chevalier's council of war;

compelled to rest all night amongst the snow, without any covering, save heaven's canopy, the rebels having left scarcely one house inhabitable.

The intelligence of these preparations and march was not grateful to the Chevalier at Scoon, and prevented the coronation, and meeting of his Parliament. He immediately deliberated with those about him concerning the most prudent course they should take, and proposed the question, Whether they ought to maintain the place and fight the Duke of Anglye, or retreat? The principal part of the officers and soldiers, especially the Highlanders, were for fighting, and could not be restrained without difficulty.

The King's army having advanced to Auchterarder, the Chevalier summoned a council of war, and addressed them in a brief speech, stating candidly their situation, and concluded by proposing the question mentioned above. He was followed by the Earl of Mar, who amplified considerably the topics handled by the Chevalier, stating, 'that their chief dependence had been on the Duke of Ormond's landing in England, as was concerted between his Grace and himself, but his Grace, having met with many disappointments, their designs having been betrayed, had disembarked on the coast of England, and finding his friends so much discouraged that it was impossible to collect them, had returned to France,

and determination to retreat.

where preparations were making for another descent on England, with such power as would protect their friends. These things had brought the weight of the war on Scotland, and not only so, but had caused the succours which they expected from abroad to be stopped and reserved for the Duke of Ormond's expedition, which was now in a state of great forwardness in the western parts of France. He concluded by reminding them of the question proposed by the Chevalier—whether they should maintain themselves in their present situation, or not? A warm debate ensued, when the Earl of Mar, deeming it impossible to obtain unanimity, and desirous, with many other gentlemen, not to hazard a battle, adjourned the council to next morning.

In a few hours after, a select number being got together, Mar urged the necessity of retreating, by several arguments. They resolved not to fight, but to retreat; this they kept concealed from their followers, who supposed they only waited a more favourable opportunity of engaging the forces that pursued them, which they believed they would be able to do at Aberdeen, where they expected supplies from abroad. The Chevalier, perceiving the danger, retired from Secon to Perth, where, having supped in Provost Hay's, he rested some hours, and next morning, with his army, quitted Perth. When he left Perth, with the Earl of Mar and

Surrender of Tullibardine to the royal forces;

adherents, it is said he shed tears, complaining, that 'instead of bringing him a crown, they had brought him to his grave.'*

That same day the royal army advanced to Tullibardine, where the garrison, consisting of a captain and 50 men, being summoned to surrender, refused. Expecting to make a diversion, they fired several shots, which did no injury. The General ordered two field pieces to be brought towards it, in order to cannonade them, which the governor observing, thought it prudent to beg a parley, which was granted; after which he surrendered at discretion, and he and the garrison were sent prisoners to Stirling. The Duke took possession of the house, resolving to reside there all night, but having been informed by two magistrates of Perth that the Chevalier and his army had abandoned that place and retired towards Dundee, his Grace immediately departed to take possession of Perth, and, on the 1st of February, about one o'clock in the morning, entered it with General Cadogan and the cavalry. The foot got thither about ten, and the rest of the army having left Tullibardine shortly after them, reached Perth the evening of the same day.

Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, and

* This being told Prince Eugene of Savoy, his Highness replied, that 'weeping was not the way to conquer kingdoms.'

and their entrance into Perth, without resistance.

Campbell of Lawers, who had been for some time stationed at Finglarig, in the Earl of Breadalbine's territory, and had been very beneficial to the cause by preventing the disaffected in these parts from joining the rebel army, being ordered by the Duke of Argyll to meet him near Perth, with their own men, and a detachment of Highlanders, whom his Grace had posted at a little distance from Perth, they proceeded thither accordingly. Having entered Perth immediately after the Chevalier had left it, they discovered a party of the rebels, who, being unwilling to part with the brandy, of which they had drank plentifully, became an easy capture. The Duke, finding the Colonel Campbell in Perth on his arrival there, despatched them to Dundee, with their followers, to take possession of that important place, a few hours after he understood the rebels had abandoned it.

His Grace, before he left Stirling, ordered Sir John Jennings, who commanded the ten frigates which were cruising in the Firth, to be in readiness to observe his motions and that of the rebels, that he might harass the one and distress the other. Sir John communicated these orders to the fleet, and, hoisting his flag on board the Oxford, 74, sailed to the northward. His Grace having ordered General Wightman to continue at Perth with 900 men, advanced to Errol, on the 2d of Febru-

Retreat of the Chevalier and army to Aberdeen;

ary*, with 6 squadrons of dragoons, 3 battalions, and 800 foot. The next day he proceeded to Dundee, and was joined there by the rest of the army, on the 4th.

The rebels having retired from Dundee to Montrose, his Grace, on the 3d, sent a detachment towards Aberborthwick, and, on the morning of the 4th, ordered Major-General Sabine, with 3 battalions, 500 foot; and 50 dragoons, to proceed to the same place, which lies about eight miles from Montrose. He also despatched Colonel Clayton, on the same day, with 300 foot and 50 dragoons, by the way of Brechin, ordering each detachment to summon the country people to remove the snow from the roads, which were then in a very bad condition. His Grace formed the remainder of his army into two divisions, that the march might be facilitated, and, having heard that the rebel army had marched in two columns, General Cadogan arrived at Aberborthwick on the 5th, and the Duke

* It is remarkable, that on Candlemas day, 1646, the battle of Inverlochy was fought, in which the late Marquis of Argyle and the espousers of our liberties were defeated by what was then called the Cavalier Party; and upon Candlemas day, 1716, being 70 years after, the Duke of Argyle, great grandson to that same Marquis, was pursuing the rebellious posterity of those oppressors of our religion and liberties, from Perth, until they were scattered; which caused many to say with the Poet,

‘Sera venit, sed certia venit vindicta Deorum.’

clandestine flight of the Chevalier, who embarks at Peterhead.

himself, with all the cavalry, proceeded by the upper road towards Brechin, intending to concentrate the whole of the army, next day, at Stonehive; and reach Aberdeen on the 6th, whither they supposed the Chevalier had gone.

The Chevalier, however, by this time, was out of their reach. While in Montrose, having heard that part of the royal army was advancing towards Aberbrothick, on the morning of the 4th, he ordered the clans, who remained with him, to be ready to march, about eight, at night, towards Aberdeen, where, he assured them, a considerable force would join them from France. At the hour appointed for their march, the Chevalier ordered his horse, and those of his attendants, to be brought before the door of the house in which he lodged, and the guard which usually attended him to mount, as if he intended to go on with the clans to Aberdeen; but slipped clandestinely out of the house on foot, attended only by one of his domestics, went to the Earl of Mar's lodgings, and thence by a foot path to the water-side, where a boat was in readiness, which carried them to a French ship, of about 90 tons burden, called the *Maria Theresa*, of St. Maloes. Next morning, at a quarter after two, other boats carried the Earl of Melfort and the Lord Drummond, with Lieutenant-General Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, on board the same ship, which immediately put to sea.

Continued advance of the royal army to Montrose;

Notwithstanding of His Majesty's ships that were cruizing on that coast, they landed safely, in seven days, at Waldam, near Graveling, between Dunkirk and Calais. The Earls Marischal, Southesk, Lord Tynemouth, General Gordon, with many other gentlemen and officers of distinction, were left behind to shift for themselves. They continued with the army, and conducted it towards Aberdeen; the foot marching first, under General Gordon, and the Earl Marischal, with about 1000 horse, keeping the rear, to prevent surprize.

General Cadogan, receiving intelligence of this, hastened his march towards Montrose, where he arrived on the 5th, in the afternoon, with the regiments of Wills, Egerton, and Clayton, and 600 detached foot. The same night, the Duke of Argyll came to Brechin, within 5 miles of Montrose, with all the dragoons; Lieutenant General Vanderbeck, who commanded the Dutch forces, lay with the foot at Aberborthwick. All of them, next day, continued their march towards Aberdeen, in quest of the rebels, where the Duke, with 50 dragoons, and 400 foot, arrived on the 8th. The rest of His Majesty's forces arrived the same day, in the vicinity, having compelled the garrison of Dunnotter to surrender.

The day on which the royal army reached Montrose, the remainder of the rebels arrived at Aberdeen, where General Gordon shewed them a let-

Letter left by the Chevalier to General Gordon.

ter from the Chevalier, in which he acquainted his friends, ' that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, had obliged him to leave that country; that he thanked them for their services, and desired them to advise with General Gordon, and consult their own security, either by keeping in a body or separating; and encouraging them to expect to hear farther from him in a very short time.' At the same time, General Gordon acquainted them, that they could expect no more pay. Though he and the rest of their leaders were in the secret before they left Perth, and knew that the Chevalier was gone, yet now they pretended to be in a transport of anger and despair because the Chevalier and Mar had left them. The letter having been read, many of the soldiers threw down their arms, exclaiming, ' they were basely betrayed, they were all undone, they were left without king or general.' On the 7th, in the morning, the van of the rebels marched from Aberdeen, as did their rear about two in the afternoon. Their main body quartered in Old Meldrum that night. About 200 of their horse, and a considerable number of their chiefs, with Irish and other officers, who had come from France, went towards Peterhead, to embark in ships waiting there for them.

The Duke of Argyle, on his arrival at Aberdeen on the 8th, sent Major General Sabine, with a party of foot, to Peterhead, and Colonel Ker with

Mantœuvres of the Duke of Argyle.

a detachment of dragoons to support them; Major General Evans, with 200 dragoons, and Colonel Campbell of Finab, with 400 men, composing the advanced guard to the royal army, were also despatched to intercept the horse of the rebels, if, finding they could not escape at Peterhead, they endeavoured to embark at Frazerburgh. Some of them, shipping at Peterhead, got safe to France; but the remainder were compelled to return, and reached Frazerburgh before General Evans. When he came to Frazerburgh, he found the Chevalier's physician, who surrendered to him. The rest of the party having gone to Banff, he detached after them Colonel Campbell, with 40 dragoons and 400 foot. The Duke having sent several of the forces in pursuit of the rebels as far as Murray, Brigadier Grant came to Inverness, and, with Lord Lovat, established garrisons of their own men in Seaforth's house at Braham, Chisholm's house at Erchles, and Borlum's house at Borlum; and Colonel Grant, who commanded an independent company, took possession of Castle Gordon, leaving a sufficient number of men to guard Inverness. His Grace, before he left Stirling, sent a letter to the Earl of Sutherland, 'advising him of his design to attack Perth, and that the rebels, on their deserting that place, might endeavour to get possession of Inverness, which being the key of the country beyond it, might be judged a convenient station

Route and dispersion of the rebel army.

for them, and therefore desired his Lordship to have his garrison as strong as possible.' This letter having reached Lord Sutherland about the beginning of Febtuary, his Lordship communicated the contents of it to the chiefs of His Majesty's friends in those parts, who immediately assembled their men, as on former similar occasions. The town was immediately filled with volunteers, zealous for His Majesty's service. The garrisons occupied by them were not assailed by the rebels, and they remained in them till relieved by the regular troops.

The rebel army marched west, through Strath-Spey and Strath-Don, to the hills of Badenoch, where they separated. The foot dispersed into the mountains, on this side of Lochy; the horse went to Lochaber, agreeing, however, to meet as soon as they had information to that effect from the Chevalier. Understanding, however, that two French frigates were come to their relief, and were riding at anchor in the Pentland Frith, Lord Duffus, Sir George Sinclair, General Eckline, and about 160 gentlemen, mounted on horse-back, made a sally from the hills, and crossing the shire of Murray, came to the sea-side near Burgh, where they got boats, which conveyed them to the Orkneys, Arskerry, and other islands, whence most of them found means to get on board the frigates, and were landed in France. The remain-

Escape of the Earls Marischal, Southesk, Seaforth, &c.

der of the rebels were conveyed to Gottenburgh, in the King of Sweden's dominions, in whose service many of them enlisted. Lord Duffus was apprehended in Hamburg, at the instance of the British envoy there, and delivered into His Majesty's hands.

There remained, however, with the rebels in Scotland, many of their chiefs; among others, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls Marischal, Southesk, and Seaforth, who, having broken his submission, joined them in their flight to the northward; Lord Tynemouth, Sir Donald M'Donald, and several others of the chiefs of the clans, concealed themselves, for some time, in the mountains, from His Majesty's troops in the north, who pursued them. Several of them made their escape to the Isle of Skye, the Lewis, and other of the north-western islands, where they remained till vessels arrived to convey them abroad. Some of them afterwards gave in their submission to the government.

The Duke of Argyle, whom we left at Aberdeen, ordered four battalions of foot, and a regiment of dragoons, to march for Inverness, on the 15th of February. To prevent the rebels making a junction, and that the troops might be conveniently quartered during winter, he disposed of them as follows:—

Stations of the royal army after the campaign.

COMMANDING OFFICERS
OF THE CORPS.

	STATION.	BRITISH.	AUXIL.
General Wills.....	Aberdeen.....	2	2
Shannon.....			
Rantzaw.....			
Zoutland.....			
Stair's dragoons.....			
Lord Irvine.....	Fort-William.....	1	..
Colonel Egerton.....	Dunbarton.....	1	..
Brigadier Morrison... 1 squad. of Portmore	Glasgow.....	1	1
General Wightman...			
Chambrier.....	Perth.....	1	..
Sturler.....			
Clayton.....	Dunkeld.....	1	..
Palant.....			
Lord Orrery.....	Inverness.....	2	..
Grant.....			
Welder en.....			
Smith.....			
Montague.....	Stirling.....	1	..
1 squad. of Portmore's			
Carpenter's Dragoons.....	Elgin.....	..	2
Slippenbeck.....	Dundee.....
Cromstrom.....			
Newton's dragoons.....	Dund. & Arbrth.	2
2 battalions of Maye.....	Montrose.....
Evans' dragoons.....	Mont. & Brechin	2
Ker's dragoons.....	Fife.....	..	2
Stanhope's dragoons.....	Edinburgh.....	..	2
		10 14	11

General Cadogan proceeds to Inverness-shire

The campaign having thus terminated, the Duke of Argyle left the command of His Majesty's troops to Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and returned to Edinburgh, the 27th of February. He set off for London soon after, where he arrived on the 6th of March.

Towards the end of February, General Cadogan went to Inverness, resolving to march through the Highlands with a body of the regular troops, to reduce the clans still in arms on the mountains. A detachment, under the command of Colonel Cholmondely, was sent to the island of Lewis, where the Earl of Seaforth, with Brigadier Campbel of Ormundel, an old soldier newly arrived from Muscovy, and a considerable body of the rebels, were in arms. The Colonel reduced the whole island in a very short time, and took Brigadier Campbell prisoner, his men having all abandoned him. He, standing on the spot where he had drawn them up to fight, scorning to turn his back, was taken in a charging posture. The Earl escaped from the island, and could not be found for a considerable time, till he appeared at his seat in the shire of Ross, where, however, he remained only a little, and made his escape to France. Another detachment was sent to the Islé of Skye, in quest of Sir Donald McDonald and his men. This party was commanded by Colonel Clayton, who soon brought all the inhabitants to submit and lay down their

to disarm the rebels and receive submissions.

arms. Sir Donald himself having no pledge of protection from the government, in case of a surrender, went off to the Isle of Uist, and skulked about, till he obtained a ship that carried him to France*. The Colonel returned from the Isle and marched to Fort-William.

General Cadogan received an order from St. James', which was intimated at the several parish churches, 'requiring the rebels to surrender themselves; assuring such of the common people, who had been in the rebellion, and delivered up their arms to His Majesty's forces, that they should have liberty to return home in safety, and, at the same time, certifying, that those who stood out, or kept their arms by them, should be reduced with rigour.' Immediately after this intimation was made, the common people in the Lowlands came in and gave up their arms; they were allowed to return in safety to their respective homes.

* About that time, three ships from France, for the support of the rebels, whom they supposed to be in arms, arrived in the Western Islands, but, finding the gentlemen unwilling to venture the remains of their men against the regular troops, when there was no prospect of success, they did not unload their cargo. Seventy-five gentlemen went on board two of the ships, and made their escape to France. The third, which had fifty chests of small arms, and 150 barrels of powder on board, was taken by the Lively, one of His Majesty's ships, as she was riding at anchor near the island of Uist.

Obstinacy of the Camerons—subsequent submission.

Some of the clans being obstinate, and refusing to submit, were pursued by His Majesty's troops. Gen. Cadogan commissioned Culcain, brother to Colonel Monro of Fowls, and one Captain M'Neil, to receive the arms of the rebels, and then marched to Blair Athol. On Colonel Campbell's return to Argyleshire, he dismissed the militia who had gone along with him in pursuit of the rebels. Having received orders from General Cadogan to attend him at Blair, with his independent company, he went thither accordingly, leaving the Deputy-Lieutenants in Argyleshire to receive the arms. The General remained at Blair Athol five or six days, where he was joined by some of the troops. This part of the country being disarmed before he came, he marched thence to Ruthven in Badenoch, where he remained several days, and found that country was likewise disarmed by Grant. While here they learned that Colonel Clayton was resolved to march from Fort-William to Lochiel's house to disarm the Camerons, and, also, that they, with Keppoch and Clanronald, were resolved to defend themselves, and not deliver up their arms. The General, however, marched to Inverness, and while there received Glengary's submission. It luckily happened, that the other three altered their resolution : they withdrew themselves, and their men delivered up their arms, not making any resistance. The General, apprized of

Termination of the rebellion in Scotland.

this, went to Fort-William, remained there one night, and returned to Inverness. Having sent Grant's regiment to Inverlochy, and ordered the Scots Fusileers to stay at Inverness, he departed for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 1st of May, passing through Aberdeen on the 27th of April. He left the command of the army to General Sabine, and immediately after proceeded to London.

The rebellion in Scotland being now extinguished, the Dutch auxiliaries were called back to England, and in a short time after embarked for Holland.

We shall now give a succinct account of the trials of those unfortunate noblemen taken at Preston, and subjoin an account of those at Liverpool and London. It has been already observed, that, on the 10th of January, the Commons of Great Britain assembled in Parliament, impeached the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Viscount Seymour, Lords Widdrington and Carnwath, of the crime of high treason. It was also stated, that they, being brought to the bar of the House of Lords, the articles of impeachment exhibited against them by the Commons were read, copies ordered to be distributed, and,

Trials of the noblemen taken at Preston

that they had till Thursday, the 19th, granted them to put in their several answers.

The day being come, all of them, except the Earl of Wintoun, (who, on his petition, was allowed till the 23d) were brought from the Tower to the bar of the House of Peers, where they severally pleaded guilty to the articles of their impeachment. Several members, in eloquent speeches, endeavoured to extenuate their guilt. The 9th of February was appointed for pronouncing the sentence; on which day, they were brought to the bar of the Court erected in Westminster-hall, having the axe borne before them, as is usual in such cases. Being asked by the Lord High Steward what they had to say, why judgment should not be pronounced upon them, according to law, they severally spoke as follows:—‘that their undertaking was rash and inconsiderate; begging His Majesty’s pardon, they relied on his mercy, on which they were made to depend, at the time of their surrender. They beseeched the noble Peers and honourable Commons to intercede with His Majesty for mercy to them, promising, to the end of their lives, to pay the utmost duty and gratitude to His Majesty, and to be his most dutiful and obedient subjects.’

After which, the Lord High Steward replied to every particular advanced in their answers to extenuate their guilt, which, he contended, were ra-

before the British Parliament.

ther aggravations of it:—‘ And now, my Lords, (added he) nothing remains, but that I pronounce upon you, (and sorry I am that it falls to my lot to do it) that terrible sentence, the same that is usually given against the meanest offender in like circumstances. The most ignominious and painful parts of it are usually remitted, through the clemency of the crown, to persons of your quality; but the law, in this case, being blind to all distinctions of persons, requires I should pronounce the sentence, adjudged by this Court, which is, That you, James Earl of Derwentwater, William Lord Widdrington, William Earl of Nithsdale, Robert Earl of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, William Lord Nairn, and every one of you, return to the prison of the Tower from which you came, thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when there you must be hanged by the neck—not till you be dead; for you must be cut down alive, then your bowels taken out and burned before your faces. Your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies divided into four quarters, to be at the King’s disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls.’

Many intercessions were made by their friends for obtaining their pardon. On the 22d, the House of Lords presented an address for reprieving them. His Majesty returned this dignified answer:—‘ that on this, and all other occasions, he would do what

Escape of the Earl of Nithsdale from the Tower.

he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown, and the dignity of his people.' Next day orders were signed in council for the execution of the Earl of Derwentwater, the Earl of Nithsdale, and Viscount Kenmure; and reprieves for the other three till the 7th of March.

That same night, Lady Nithsdale, having obtained permission, entered the prison, with a female attendant, a few minutes after the Earl had received the order for his execution. Having no hopes of a reprieve, she brought a female habit, intending to endeavour the liberation of her husband. The Earl having put on the disguise went out leaning on the arm of the female with whom Lady Nithsdale entered, leaving her in his apartment. The keeper had retired, conceiving that his feelings could not withstand the shock they would receive at the separation. Lady Nithsdale took leave of her husband at the door of the apartment, audibly enough to be heard by the guards stationed at the extremity of the passage, that they might suppose she had left the prison. The Earl passed them, pretending excessive grief, and concealing his face with a handkerchief. He got to the outside undiscovered, and a coach being stationed at a short distance, he jumped into it, and was conveyed to lodgings in a retired part of the city, where he remained concealed till an opportunity was afforded of departing for the coast,

Execution of Derwentwater and Kenmure.

whence embarking he was safely landed in France. Lady Nithsdale was liberated immediately after the Earl's escape was known. We have been thus particular here, deeming it a tribute due to conjugal affection.

The Earl of Derwentwater and the Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill on the 24th of February. The former made a speech on the scaffold, in which he 'begged pardon of those he might have scandalized by pleading guilty at his trial—declared his sensibility that in this he had made free with his loyalty, having never any other but King James the Third for his rightful and lawful sovereign.' And notwithstanding all he had said at his trial, to excuse his rising and taking arms, 'he declared he intended to serve his King (James) and country by it, hoping, by the example he gave, to have induced others to perform their duty.' He died, as he had lived, a Roman Catholic.

Viscount Kenmure made no speech at the place of execution. It appears, by a letter he wrote to a certain nobleman, on the day preceding that on which he suffered, that he died firm in principles of adherence to the Chevalier, 'whom he believed to be the legitimate son of King James the Second; heartily sorry, at the same time, for disavowing his principles in his speech before the House of Peers. He had ever lived, and would die, in the profes-

Trial and escape of the Earl of Wintoun.

sion of the Protestant religion, practised in the church governed by bishops.

The Earl of Wintoun, when he came to give answers to the articles of impeachment, pled not guilty. Farther time was allowed him to prepare his defence, on petitions presented by him for that purpose. His trial was commenced on the 15th of March, when their Lordships unanimously found him guilty. The Commons having gone to the bar of the House of Lords, and demanded judgment against him, the Lords assembled in the court in Westminster-hall, on Monday, 19th, and the Earl of Wintoun was brought to the bar. After he was heard in his defence, the Lord High Steward addressed him in a speech to the same effect, and pronounced sentence upon him in the same form, as he did before to the other six noblemen. The Earl, however, evaded the execution, by escaping from the Tower. The Earl of Carnwath, and Lords Widdrington and Nairn, were reprieved.

We already mentioned that a commission of oyer and terminer was given for trying those prisoners taken at Preston, who were left in Lancashire. The Judges appointed for that purpose were Mr Baron Bury, Mr Justice Eyre, and Mr Baron Montague, who departed from London, with all their attendants, on the 4th of January, and, on the

Trials at Liverpool before the commission.

11th, arrived at Liverpool. On the following day, they opened their commission, the Grand Jury was summoned, and the court sat down. Commissioners had been formerly appointed to take precognitions of such as were made witnesses with relation to the fact at Preston. These having been taken and laid before the Grand Jury, bills of indictment were found against 48 of the prisoners. Copies of the indictments were given to the prisoners, and the court adjourned for eight days, that the prisoners might have a reasonable time to prepare their defences. Other prisoners were brought from Lancaster and Chester to Liverpool, the Grand Jury, in the interval, found bills against 113 more, whereof 40 were Scotsmen, and delivered to them copies of their indictments.

The Court sat again on the 20th of January, when the trials began, and, on the 9th of February, 74 of the individuals were tried; 67 found guilty and condemned, and seven were acquitted.

Five of these were executed at Preston, on the 28th of January, and one of their heads fixed to a pole, on the town-hall there. Seven were appointed to be executed there on the 9th of February. Seven to be executed on the 10th at Wigan. Seven to be executed at Manchester, and one Syddal's head to be placed on the cross, on the 11th. And, finally, they ordered three to be executed at

Sentences, escapes, executions, of those tried in Liverpool.

Liverpool, four at Garstang, and four at Lancaster. They appointed neither time nor place for the execution of the rest; and a few were reprieved during His Majesty's pleasure.

Those who were not tried seeing that the Government was in good earnest with them, and being convinced of the absurdity of the notions they previously entertained, 'that the King durst not take the life of one of them, and that the Government would not attempt a process against so great a number;' and understanding that there was yet some hope of mercy—joined in a humble petition to the Court, acknowledging themselves to be guilty, and begging transportation. This was granted by the Judges, which finished their proceedings. On the 10th of February, they departed for London, leaving the prisoners to the merchants of Liverpool, to be transported to the plantations of America.

Sixty-eight were tried before the Chevalier embarked for France. Several of them died in prison, others made their escape, and some of those condemned were transported. So that these trials were cotemporary with the rebellion in Scotland. Several made speeches at the place of execution; a few were very penitent, but the majority persisted in declaring their adherence to those principles which had actuated them during the rebellion. In the above account I have not enumerated any of

Trials at London,—Court in Westminster-hall.

the Scotch; about 17 of these, and 12 of the English, were gentlemen.

The law required that the gentlemen taken prisoners at the surrender of Preston, and who were prisoners in the Marshalsea, Newgate, and the Fleet, should be sent down to Lancashire, the county in which the crime was committed. This could not be done without great expense and trouble. For removing this difficulty, a bill was brought into Parliament, entitled, 'A bill for the more speedy trial of such persons as have levied war against His Majesty during the late rebellion;' which, being passed, received the royal assent on the 6th of March. By this act, a court was constituted in Southwark, and Judges were appointed for the trial of those confined in the Marshalsea, and a commission ordered to try those in Newgate and the Fleet, at the Court of Common Pleas in Westminster.

Next day, this new commission for the trials in Westminster met; and bills of indictment for high treason were prepared against Thomas Forrester, the rebel General, William Shaftoe, Robert Talbot, Colonel Henry Oxburgh, Charles Wogan, Thomas Hall, Richard Gascoigne, Alexander Menzies, James Menzies, and John Robertson. Copies being given them, the Court adjourned, allowing them a week to prepare their defences. On the 14th, the Court met again, when they learned that

Escape of General Forrester, Brigadier M'Intosh, &c.

General Forrester had made his escape out of Newgate, on the night of the 10th. A proclamation was published offering £1000 reward to any who might apprehend him; he, however, was safely landed at Calais. The Court proceeded to the trial of the rest, when Brigadier M'Intosh, Mr Gascoigne, &c. being arraigned pled not guilty, and, on a petition for farther time to prepare, were allowed three weeks. This they occupied in making preparations for their escape:—on the 4th of May, about 11 at night, M'Intosh, with 15 more of the prisoners, broke out of Newgate, having knocked down the keepers, and forced the doors. Some of them mistaking their way to the streets were again apprehended. A proclamation was immediately issued offering £1000 reward for apprehending Brigadier M'Intosh, and £500 for each of the rest, but in vain, for they could not be discovered. The Court sat again, on the 7th, and fourteen more were arraigned, who pled not guilty, and had time allowed them to prepare their defences. The Court proceeded with those who were formerly indicted, and beginning with Henry Oxburgh, found him guilty, and sentenced him to be executed on the 11th at Tyburn, at which time his head was set up on Temple-bar. On the 16th, the Court sat again, when Thomas Hall of Otterburn, and Robert Talbot, Esq. were tried and found guilty. Soon after, Mr Gascoigne and

Trials at London, — Court in Southwark.

several others were tried; the former made an animated defence, but they were all found guilty. On the 18th of May other four were tried; one of them pled guilty, and three of them were found so, by the Jury. These were all reprieved, except Mr Gascoigne, who was executed at Tyburn.

The Court in Southwark sat down on the 10th of April, and the Grand Jury for the county of Surry found bills against eleven of those who were prisoners in the Marshalsea, and the copies being given them, and the usual time allowed them to put in their answers, the Court adjourned for eight days. At which time they sat again, and the prisoners pleading not guilty, and desiring a longer time to prepare for their trial, the same was granted them. Bills being found against several others, copies of their indictments were given them, and the Court adjourned till the 8th of May. On that day the Court sat again, and two of the prisoners being brought on their trial, one of them was found guilty, and one acquitted. On the 11th, one was tried, and, after a vigorous defence, was found guilty. On the 12th, five of them, retracting their previous denial of guilt, pled guilty, and threw themselves on His Majesty's clemency; at the same time, two, having proven that they were forced into the rebellion, were acquitted. The Courts having adjourned for some time, that in Southwark sat again on the 30th of June, when

Bills of attainder passed against the Earl of Mar, &c.

two were tried, and found guilty. On the 5th of July, and succeeding days, ten were found guilty, which finished the proceedings of this Court.

On the 4th of July, the Court met again at Westminster, and on that, and the remaining days of that month, about thirty were brought on their trial. Most of them pled guilty, and others were found so, by the Jury. Among the former of these was Mr Paul, a clergyman, and of the latter, James Menzies of Culdare, who pled the King's pardon, in regard of his extraordinary case; those who drew him into the rebellion being about to possess his estate.

The British Parliament passed bills of attainder against the Earls of Mar, Linlithgow, Marischal, Seaforth, Southesk, Panmure, the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Drummond, and some other chiefs of the rebellion in Scotland, which received the royal assent on the 7th of May: also, 'A bill for enlarging the time for the continuance of Parliaments, commonly called the septennial bill;' and 'A bill to indemnify such persons who have acted in defence of His Majesty's person and government; and for the preservation of the public peace of this kingdom, in and about the time of the late unnatural rebellion, from vexatious suits and prosecutions,' &c. About the end of this session, bills of attainder were passed against General Forrester and Brigadier M'Intosh, and

Prorogation of Parliament,—civil and military arrangements.

• A bill for more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands in Scotland, by disarming the people,' &c. and 'A bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into those estates which were forfeited by the rebellion,' which the King had promised to give up for the public service.

The King having signified to his Parliament his desire to visit Germany on urgent business, a bill was brought in for rescinding part of an act, passed in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of King William, whereby it is provided, 'that no person who shall come to the possession of the crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.' These bills having been passed, His Majesty, on the 26th of June, went to the House of Peers, and gave them his assent. Having addressed both Houses, the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th August.

Having appointed General Carpenter Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Scotland; Lord Lovat, Governor of Inverness, for his good services in recovering that place from the rebels; the Earl of Sutherland, President of the Chamberlainry in Scotland; and a patent having passed the seals, creating His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, Regent of the kingdom of Great Britain, and His Majesty's Lieutenant within the same; the King, on the 7th of July, departed for Holland, where he arrived on the 9th, on his way to Hanover.

The state prisoners who had been reprieved by

Reprieves, executions, &c. of those tried in London.

His Majesty, began to behave themselves as if they were secure. To their great surprise, on the night of the 8th, after the Prince had opened his commission in council, a warrant was signed for executing twenty-four of them on the following Friday. A reprieve, however, arrived on the Thursday preceding for twenty-two of them; and a warrant for the execution of Mr Paul, and Mr Thomas Hall of Otterburn, who were executed accordingly on Friday, the 18th of July, 1716. At the place of execution each of them read a declaration, 'renouncing communion with the Church of England, and owning they died members of the non-juring church there; praying for the restoration of the Chevalier, under the name of King James, and exhorting the people to be obedient to him, as their only lawful sovereign,' &c.

On the 24th of June, when the act suspending the Habeas Corpus Bill expired, the Earl of Scarsdale, Lords Duplin, Powis, and several private gentlemen, availed themselves of it, and were admitted to bail. In a short time after, Sir William Windham, Mr Harvey of Comb, Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, the Earls of Wigtoun and Hume, and several others, both in England and Scotland, who had been taken into custody, as suspected persons, when the rebellion broke out, took likewise the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act. A general order was likewise issued for the liberation, without bail, of all those who surrendered, according to the

Prisoners in Edinburgh, Stirling, &c. conveyed to Carlisle.

summons, before the rebellion; and those who deserted from the rebels before their retreat from Perth; and discharging all the servants who were prisoners with their masters in London. The Marquis of Huntly, Glesgary, Mr Douglass, Ogilvy, and some others in Scotland, obtained their full pardon, in regard of their having quitted the rebels in time. Some at London were liberated before trial, and others reprieved.

The prisoners taken at Dunfermline and Sheriffmuir, and such as had surrendered themselves to the government at the termination of the rebellion, and were prisoners in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Blackness, were conveyed to Carlisle, to be tried by a commission of oyer and terminer, appointed to sit there in November, 1716, consisting of the Lord Chief Baron Smith, Barons Scroop and Price, Mr Justice Tarcy, &c. Thirty-four prisoners were set at liberty, by His Majesty's clemency, without being brought to trial, although sufficient proof could have been adduced of their guilt. John Paton of Grandham, one of these 34, delivered a speech in praise and commendation of His Majesty's merciful disposition, which he said ' he had often times heard of, but now felt, to his utmost joy and gratitude; and that eye had not seen, nor ear heard, the like before; but that he and others were living witnesses thereof, which he said for himself, and he thought all the rest would assent to it, wishing His Majesty and royal

Return of His Majesty from Germany, bill of indemnity, &c.

issue long life, and that he might ever be the darling of his people,' &c. Thirty-two of the prisoners being brought on their trial, Mr William Hay made some demur against the jurisdiction, but afterwards withdrew, and thereafter pled guilty, as did all the rest, except one Tulloch of Tanachie, who was acquitted, having proven that he was forced into the rebellion. Twenty-four of them received sentence of death, but no day was appointed for their execution. The rest were never sentenced.

The King returned from Germany about the middle of January, 1717, a few days before the Parliament met, intending to open that session of Parliament with a general indemnity, but a rumour having circulated, that the plan of a new rebellion was formed, it was delayed. It appeared from the papers seized with Count Gillemberg, the Swedish minister in London, and Baron Gortz who was seized in Holland, that the King of Sweden, in concert with our enemies, designed to invade Britain. Effectual measures being taken, it was prevented. The Earl of Oxford was tried on the 13th of July, and acquitted. His Majesty then granted his indemnity, and the remainder of the prisoners were liberated.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE ADVANTAGES THAT HAVE ACCRUED TO
BRITAIN BY THE SUCCESSION IN THE ILLUSTRIOUS
HOUSE OF HANOVER.

Pro Rege sæpe, pro Republica semper.

(From a pamphlet—'London, re-printed MDCCXLV.')

As the general prosperity of every country redounds to the advantage of the several individuals in that community, for the same reason every private man must be more or less a sharer in those calamities that attend it: this I take to be the foundation of that curiosity which prevails in most men to enquire into the state and condition of their country, and into the management of public affairs, there being nothing more natural than to enquire into the causes of those events wherein we think our interest is concerned. Indeed, when things run on prosperously, and every body enjoys his liberty and property in such a latitude as flows from a regular administration; and when men are convinced of the capacity and integrity of their governors, this curiosity is not a little rebated, and they are then inclined to acquiesce in

Historical Account of Britain's advantages

those public benefits, without any farther enquiry into the secret springs and causes from whence they flow. But, on the other hand, if it evidently appears that the interest of the public is entirely neglected; trade given up and sacrificed, though it be the very vitals of the Common-wealth; foreign wars engaged in, though notoriously destructive of the public welfare, and all other means and arts laboured, in order to impoverish and exhaust a country; such a crisis as this will infallibly raise a curiosity in the injured, to pry into the conduct of their superiors, and the causes of so much misery; this, they think, their sufferings give them a right to do.

But the misfortune is, that the opportunity falls not to every man's lot to discover the true origin whence the misfortunes of his country proceed: for things of this nature but pass through a few hands, and those commonly none of the honestest, it being their interest to conceal, as well as to act the crime; yet we find that things, even of this sort, have often been brought to light, either through a remorse of some of the superior agents, or the honesty of the inferior; for sometimes it happens, that such have had the public good of their country more at heart than their own private gains. And though instances of this nature are very uncommon, yet I doubt not but I shall be able to convince every true Briton, and some false

by the Hanoverian Succession.

ones too, who by chance may have the perusal of these papers, that this is a case which does not want a precedent.

The present condition of our country, and the miseries which now bear so hard upon us, to the utter ruin of many late opulent families, and which, in the event, will be the ruin of many more, is, in my opinion, worth our present consideration. Tho', as I have already observed, enquiries of this nature are generally concealed from the cognizance of vulgar eyes, yet it will appear that Providence has so ordered it, that most of the facts from whence our present calamities have proceeded, are come to the knowledge of a person inclined to do his country justice; and that the present age may not be so far deceived, as to attribute the evils which we now suffer, to the bare effect of chance, I have thought fit to publish what follows, to shew, that, on the contrary, all this has proceeded from a regular design, in order to bring us low, and make us *humble*; a virtue we are not naturally disposed to, especially in some instances, wherein the exercise of it will be required at our hands: for it will appear even necessary to the designs of our present superiors, that we should be reduced to our present, if not to a much worse condition.

In this enquiry it will be necessary to look back into the first sources and origin of things, and to

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recal some facts that have been long since buried to the world, and, in some measure, even to the very actors themselves. I shall therefore beg leave to refresh the memory of some, and inform the judgment of others, with respect to certain transactions that are not now of above twenty years standing; not that this is absolutely necessary to trace the beginning of our present misfortunes, but rather that the reader may have some account of the secret intrigues and passages that happened both before and after the settlement of the succession of the illustrious house of Hanover: for as these papers attempt to give an account of the misfortunes that have accrued to our country since his present Majesty's accession to the throne, the history will be more complete, if, on the one side, the secret motives are represented in their true light, which induced the late King William III. to make this step; and, on the other, what kind of reception this settlement met with at Hanover, when it was first concerted and established,

The least pretender to the knowledge of public affairs, must be sensible how much it is the interest of the States of Holland to have a friend of theirs upon the throne of Great Britain; and, if possible, even such a friend as will prefer their interest to our own: for nothing can be more evident, than that they are our rivals in trade, which

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is our principal and their only support; and it is equally evident, that, in such a competition, it is impossible, almost, but that Britain must prevail, unless some secret powerful Steersman be retained to interpose and turn the scale to their side; and that the effects of such an interposition have frequently been felt here of late years, the Turkey Company may particularly be consulted on this head.

The late King William was a native of Holland; and not only so, but he had all those strong passions and respects for his country, which a virtuous Prince and a good patriot ought to have; nor do we find that his love for that country was in the least diminished, notwithstanding the relation he stood in with respect to Britain.

This I think will abundantly excuse some actions in that Prince, which Britons are apt to call criminal, whereas he all the while was serving his own, not our country; and this I must needs say, I look upon as a very shining virtue in him, which our countrymen are generally destitute of.

This artful Prince (for certainly such he was) considering his own mortal condition, made use of all those prodigious talents he was master of, in order to serve his native country when he himself was dead and gone; and the state of affairs in his time presented him with a fit opportunity to

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continue the same services, which he had with a great deal of art performed all his lifetime; for the false fears of Popery here among the great, vulgar, and the small, and the return of an injured monarch among the wiser sort, who perhaps might labour under some scruples that looked like guilt, were materials sufficient in the hands of so accomplished a Prince, in order to the establishment of a foreign family in this throne, to whom no objections of this kind could be made. This he prudently judged to be the best expedient in order to continue the advancement of a Dutch interest; for he thought a foreigner could have no such love for this country, as to be strictly solicitous for its interests, when the consequences of such a management must be against his own; and therefore such a Prince might easily be inclined to be cool in the affairs of Britain, and to be willing to suffer a foreign competitor to reap the advantages of its commerce; for, by this means, he would effectually secure an ally to support his possession of the crown, and, at the same time, reduce the British nation to such a condition, by the loss of their trade, so as not to be in a capacity to disturb such a Prince in the prosecution of either his foreign or domestic interests.

When things are considered in this light, and with these views, no family could appear so fit to answer all these designs, as well with respect to religion as politics, as that of Hanover.

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When this scheme was in agitation, indeed, the late Queen Anne stood in the way; but there was a sham plot contrived to remove that difficulty; for when King William went into Holland in the year 1700, that affair was thus settled with the late Duke of Zell and the Princess Sophia, viz. that Queen Anne was to be taken up and sent to the Tower, upon the account of a pretended correspondence with her father the late King James; and this, without doubt, as the tide ran at that time, would have been a sufficient inducement to exclude her from any share in the advantages of the Act of Succession. Farther, there was actually a committee settled at Westminster, consisting of such men as could be relied upon, in order to ripen measures how to bring the Princess Sophia into England; and, as the state pulse then beat, King William being unavoidably to enter into war with France, the dowry settled by the treaty of Reswick, upon the late dowager Mary, King James's Queen, (which was £50,000 per ann.) was to be appointed to the Princess Sophia's use, as well as Somerset House was for her residence.

These are known truths, and even the vulgar were under some apprehensions of designs of this nature against the late Queen; nay, there are several who, to this day, retain some impressions of this sort: And the party scribblers of the Tory side have given broad hints of it, though it is dif-

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difficult to guess how they came by them, unless it was by the means of the late Earl of Rochester, for he was the only person, as far as I can find, of a different inclination, that knew any thing of this affair. He indeed was forewarned of the design, perhaps from the same quarter that the wind blows now; and he, after the accession of Queen Anne, being talked to upon this subject, said, he was satisfied of the truth of it, but he thought the affair too dangerous to be looked into. However, it is a fact certainly known to many now alive, to whom I may appeal, that the minutes and memoirs of this whole affair, as transacted by the aforementioned committee, were suppressed by a private order of council.

But the unexpected death of King William put an end to all these projects and contrivances. However he so far prevailed as to secure the succession to a foreigner, after the death of Queen Anne, who was even then an infirm sickly woman, and no ways likely to have any more children; so that the project was so well laid, that probably, it might take effect in process of time, though, for the present, those that pursued the Dutch interest were forced to be contented without it.

And thus we see upon what foot, and in order to what designs, the House of Hanover was first established here.

I shall now proceed to give an account of some transactions at Hanover, just upon the establishment of the Act of Settlement, whereby it will appear, that it was not out of any love, or real concern for the interest of the British nation, that even the House of Hanover itself accepted of this Succession, but purely to advance their own interest abroad; and, in order to this, Britain was to be reduced to such a condition, as to be subservient to it. This will appear to every reader by what I am going to relate.

A little before the death of King William, the late Lord Macclesfield was the tool pitched upon to carry over the Succession Act, and to present it to the Princess Sophia, and the Prince her son: but they did not receive it with that alacrity and regard to the British nation, as the people on this side of the water were made to believe; for there were several difficulties raised, which few men expected. There was a lady, a creature of that court, who was always listened to with attention, who represented the 'British nation as a fickle people, very subject to revolt against their own natural princes; much more would their inclination be that way, when under the dominion of a foreigner, and especially of a Prince, whom they might suspect to have some resentments against them, for old neglects and injuries, which his family, by the mother's side, formerly suffered,

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and which were principally owing to their obstinacy; and that no foreign Prince whatsoever could propose to himself either ease or happiness at the head of those people.'

These were that politic lady's sentiments of us. But my Lord Bar. Barendsдорff interposed here, and being inclined to be complaisant to the fair sex, readily granted all she had said for great undeniable truths, 'that the British were indeed a vile, rebellious, unconstant people, not worthy the least confidence or trust; yet that this offer of the succession was a thing by no means to be rejected; for, though the British were a people of no veracity, yet they might serve very well as tools to advance the interest of the House of Hanover abroad, and which might perhaps be managed and brought to such a height, as to put it out of their own power to do any mischief: that his succession would give the Prince a lustre in Germany for the present; that, if it took effect, it would enable him to enlarge his territories there: that though there should be no possibility to gain the affections of the English, yet there was no room to doubt, but a Prince of that House might easily make himself master of their purses, which would serve the turn as well: that, being a people divided among themselves into factions, they were the more easily to be managed: that, by seeming to countenance the one side, he might, at his

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ease, oppress the other, and in the end drain both of their money: besides, this succession would enable him to gain great alliances in Europe, and particularly he would find himself courted by the two contending Houses of Christendom, Austria and Bourbon, and both in their turns would be forward enough to give him their protection.' After some debates of this kind, it was at last concluded that the succession should be accepted.

These were the motives, and these the views, which at that time prevailed, and caused the rejoicings of that Court. And now the question will be, whether his present Majesty, since he is settled on the throne, and his fast friends, have not all along acted with an eye to this scheme? But, before I enter upon this, some things are necessary to be hinted at, which passed during the interval of the late Queen's reign, and before this settlement took effect.

When the Princess Anne came to the throne, the House of Hanover was always jealous of her conduct with respect to the interest of that family. But whether this was owing to a consciousness of the practices above-mentioned, wherein they were concerned as principals, in order to deprive her of her turn in the succession, that they might attain their ends the sooner, or whether they were sensible of some old grudge of an an-

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cienter standing, is what is not very material to enquire into; yet very certain it is, there was no good private understanding between that family and the late Queen; for there were always Hanoverian spies planted here, to watch all motions, as well of public as private transactions. These jealousies produced an eager desire in those abroad, and in their fast friends here at home, to have the Princess Sophia, and her grandson the present Prince of Wales; brought over; so that they might gain upon the affections of the people, in case any attempts were made contrary to their interests.

My Lord Macclesfield was again pitched upon to put himself at the head of those who were for bringing this affair about, but as it happened, even some of them, who were thought to be most inclined to join in this enterprise, when it came to be thoroughly canvassed, appeared but very cool in the prosecution of it; for there are a considerable number of that party, who are distinguished by the name of Whigs, that have always had quite different views from those of a foreign succession, notwithstanding their outward, even vehement professions; the true design of these men tending towards a republic. Indeed, they pretended at the private conferences of that party, that the Princess Sophia employed few or none but Roman Catholics about her, and that it was probable

she would continue her old servants after her arrival here, which would not only bring an odium upon the succession itself, but also upon those persons that promoted it. Yet this was but a cloak to cover their other real designs. My Lord Macclesfield, who was a trusty promoter of this family, saw (with the eyes of others at least) into the aims of some of the party, and objected it to them; but as he had no facts to support what he said, it passed for nothing, and so the affair, in some measure dropt. Indeed, the vulgar Whigs, who always meant what they spoke, were very warm in it; and when any party, though other-ways never so considerable, when cunningly deserted by their leaders, they can be of no very great consequence.

I must needs own, I think the Republican Whigs are more in the interest of their country than the others; for, no doubt, if such a scheme of government prevailed, it would be more eligible, and better for the interest of England, than the dominion of a foreigner; because such a government could have no views of a public nature, but what are for the common good, there not being the same temptations for such men to sacrifice their own country to aggrandize any other nation.

Those Whigs that strictly adhered to the scheme my Lord Macclesfield was employed to pursue, though they failed in their main project to bring

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the Princess Sophia and her grandson over, yet they so far influenced affairs, as to procure a Regency to be established, to secure the kingdom for the use of the House of Hanover, upon the death of the late Queen; not but that this had a greater effect than was expected from the public and private opposers of the first proposal.

We are now to proceed to that period when all these contrivances were to have the desired effect. Upon the death of Queen Anne, the generality of the kingdom, as having an inherent affection for new things, turned their eyes to Hanover to be supplied with a sovereign. The Tories, who at that time ruled the roast, were always suspected, though very unjustly, of a disaffection to that House. Nay, King George himself was not only jealous of them in particular, but also of the British nation in general, and therefore he staid in Hanover and Holland above six weeks, in order to see what turn affairs would take here before he ventured to set his foot upon British ground. But being at last encouraged, by the repeated invitations, both public and private, of the leading men of both parties, he conquered his irresolution.

Upon his arrival in Holland, the States took care to instil such notions into him, with respect to their common interest, as were very inconsistent with that of Britain, though they were no

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other than such as he had before entertained, and pensioned Heinsius was the man that negotiated this affair.

He told him, 'that he must not look upon Britain as the place of his future abode, but rather as a place to be used so long as it could be preserved for the advancement of their common good: that notwithstanding the invitations he had received from some of the heads of the Tory side, they were persons not at all fit to be employed, because by that means he would put it in their power to oust him at their pleasure: that the generality of them had already laid schemes in favour of his competitor: that revenge and their own security would oblige the Whigs to come into the same measures. But if, on the other hand, the Whigs were employed, all that the Tories would aim at, would be to solicit the French interest in favour of the Pretender; but that France being at present poor and low, they would not be so forward in complying with their desires. Besides, the French Court knowing the Tories to be men of no resolution to carry on such an affair, they would rather make their court to him; and in case the Tories should raise a rebellion, he knew he was secure of the Emperor and Dutch for troops upon all exigencies: that this would give him a handle to keep a standing army for the future, to make them submit upon all occasions to

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any loads he should think fit to lay upon them: that the only way to keep himself in the saddle would be to drain them of their wealth, and to cut off, as much as possible, all opportunities of trade, and thereby to hinder them from a speedy recruit: that the British were a restive, stomachful people when in prosperity, but that they were mean, dispirited souls when reduced to want; that they would only whine, and make a little noise in their private cabals, which was all he had to apprehend from them when in such a condition: that, by strengthening the Dutch with the English trade, he only secured himself the more in the possession of his crown, and which would so far enable him to advance his interests in Germany, that one day it might happen, that a Prince of his House might sit at the head of the Empire.'

Big with these resolutions and these schemes, he arrived in Britain, where he had no sooner settled himself, but immediately he left no stone unturned to procure foreign alliances, not to strengthen the British interest, but his own possession of the throne, as if the one were altogether inconsistent with the other, being full of the former jealousies of, and prejudices against us.

The Regent of France having particular views of his own at that time, was thought the fittest

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person to make a good brother and firm ally of, for they were a mutual security to one another, to enable them to execute their several designs and projects.

The next project to secure himself, and carry on his schemes, was to involve us abroad, by sending fleets into the Baltic and Mediterranean, to drain us of our redundant humours, as well in respect to men as money; and though, by the Act of Settlement, the British were to be engaged in no foreign war, but wherein the national interest was concerned, yet this was over-ruled, and the British have been obliged to engage in war, not only wherein they were not concerned themselves but in wars evidently contrary to their interests and which could have no other view but to break their trade, that it might fall into the hands of the Dutch; of this nature was that with Spain, and the other in the north.

My Lord Townshend and Mr Walpole, we all know, were a few years ago in disgrace; but the true reason has hitherto been, in some measure, concealed. They, at that time, had some remaining bowels of compassion for their country, and were against such projects, which they knew would at last terminate in its destruction; and it was for this reason that they were, at that time, reputed as persons not fit to be employed. But upon cooler thoughts, when they afterwards saw

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that their country must be ruined, whether they had a hand in it or no, they have since fortified themselves with new resolutions, and on recollection, thought it convenient to be sharers in the public booty.

There was another project started in order to support King George with money, though very detrimental to the British nation in general, and to the East India Company in particular; and this was by concerting with the Emperor to establish an Ostend company to interfere in our East India trade. Two and a half per cent. was the price agreed upon, and which they are to pay in consideration of this privilege, whereas our company pay fifteen per cent. so that the Ostenders are enabled to undersell them, at least, ten in the hundred, and be sufficient gainers too. There were several rich merchants in the city, who treated with Baron Bothmar, to pay certain sums of money to King George's use for a connivance in the enjoyment of this trade; and it will be found, as it hath hitherto been, that this grievance will always want a remedy, till Providence has so ordered it, as to put the British upon such a foot as to be able to pursue their own interest.

This project answers two great ends in the German scheme, viz. to impoverish the British, and at the same time to enrich the House of Hanover.

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There was another scheme put in execution, which, though it did not fully answer the design of the projectors, yet it had, in some measure, its effect, and this was to declare war with Spain, whereby His Majesty not only proposed to enrich himself, but also to ruin our Spanish trade, and consequently to impoverish us. The latter part of the project, our merchants, as well as the people in general feel the effects of; but the affair of getting money did not so well succeed, for it was also concerted to send twelve ships of war to intercept the Spanish galleons in the gulph of Florida, but, by some means or other, the enemy got intelligence of it, and took proper methods to prevent its succeeding.

The interest of this country was undoubtedly sacrificed by this Spanish war; for we could have no motives to be at variance with that nation, but we have many that ought to incline us to use all honest arts we can to keep them our friends. The most advantageous trade we have is allowed to be the Spanish, and if so, could Britain, if it were not influenced by foreign councils, be so wanting to itself, as to quarrel with the only people whom we have all the reason in the world to oblige? Certainly, if it had been necessary for us to be concerned in the Spanish affairs, it had been our interest to have declared in their favour. This had effectually rivetted us in the good graces of

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that people, and so far secured that trade, that it had been out of the power of our competitors to undermine us. The wiser Dutch saw this, and took measures accordingly; but it is our misfortune to be influenced by councils that are none of our own, and to be governed by those that have designs upon our liberties, our fortunes, and every thing else that is dear and valuable.

But our condition is such, that these schemes are too lingering, too full of delay, to do our business; there must be something concerned more quick in the operation. The King wanted money to carry on his affairs abroad, and the British are too long masters of their own fortunes, and therefore some other more effectual means than those above-mentioned, must be found out to answer these ends.

A noble Peer, who died not long ago, was known to have as great a share in the King's affections as any man living, and, no doubt of it, he deserved no less; for there was nothing which he found the King inclined to, but he immediately came into it, though father, brother, sister, country, or what else may be accounted most dear and valuable to man, stood in the way.

About three years ago this noble Lord, as far as his words could be recollected, expressed himself to the following purpose at a private conference

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held at Baron Bothmar's house, where their South Sea scheme was first concerted.

‘ The King's affairs (said this noble Lord), are in such a condition abroad, that a great sum of money is requisite to settle them. For, in the first place, if we consider the untractable temper of the Czar, we must, by some means or other, bring him to a more easy disposition; and this must be done, either by giving him such a sum of money as will incline him to come in to the King's measures; or, if this fails, we must endeavour to prevail with the Porte to fall upon him, which you know cannot be attempted without a vast charge.

‘ The King is also advised to purchase new dominions, Mecklenberg, and Wismar, contiguous with his own, to accomplish which a considerable sum must be raised; this will enable His Majesty to make a considerable figure in Germany; this will bring all the Princes of the North into his measures, and there will then be no fear of a new war in those parts, unless the King should find it his interest to promote it.

‘ A considerable sum must also be raised, and advanced to King Augustus, the better to enable him to make Poland hereditary; for, if this can be compassed by the King's means, he will always have it in his power to keep France within bounds, and to hinder it for the future from forming any alliance prejudicial to the common cause, though

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we are indeed secure of that interest at present; having been somewhat condescending to them in the affair of the quadruple alliance.

• The Emperor is so thoroughly linked in interest with the King, that we are certain he will enter into any treaty or measures with him to the advancement of their common good.

• As for the Spaniards, it is true we have quarrelled with them, but that breach may easily be made up; for the fleet which we have destroyed were only old English and Dutch East-India men, not fit for any service; and we may easily repair that loss, by proposing to build them an equal number of ships in our own docks, under the notion of ships built for the Mississippi Company in France. This will serve to blind our people here at home, and at the same time puts us upon good terms with Spain.

• To answer these ends, a considerable sum of money must be raised by one means or other. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has examined all the projects that have been laid before him, and he says it is impossible, by any new tax, to raise a fund of ten thousand pounds per annum, which is such a trifle, that it would not answer His Majesty's travelling expenses into Germany; yet, if we make use of this South Sea scheme, which my Lord the Baron and His Majesty have proposed, I make no doubt but we shall be able to raise mo-

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ney enough to answer all the King's necessities, and all men will readily come into it, because of the view they have to augment their fortunes. The South Sea Company have already offered their service, and the leading men among them have promised to be under direction; and it is not to be doubted, but, by a good understanding between the King and that Company, he may easily be furnished with some millions of money, to put all these projected schemes in execution.

‘ We find the Regent of France has, by such a step as this, brought the treasure of that country into his own coffers; and what can prevent us from doing the like? And by this means we shall at once lay a sure foundation to enable the King to be master both of the purses and persons of his subjects.’

Here we see the aggravation of our misfortunes! The South Sea scheme, you see, was concerted to raise money, not to discharge national debts, but to support foreign interests, which do not in the least relate to Britain. I shall pass by this very remarkable speech without a comment, for indeed it needs none. We are not to wonder, that the success of former crimes should make those that committed them bold enough to engage in more desperate undertakings; for, having tried their strength that way, they are inspired

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with a confidence which makes those designs seem easy to be put in practice, that to others appear attended with almost insuperable difficulties.

When this scheme came to make its appearance upon the stage, there were several representations made to this noble Lord, in particular, of the ill effects of it. It was demonstrated to him, that it would in the event prove to be the destruction of credit, both public and private; that if, notwithstanding this, they were resolved to carry it in opposition to all considerations whatsoever, the raising the stock above £200 would infallibly prove the ruin of the Company. His Lordship's answer was, 'that the King's necessities were to be preferred before any consequences that could be objected; that he was satisfied the King could not subsist, unless this project was promoted to the utmost pitch it possibly could bear.'

When it was farther objected to his Lordship, That the general ruin it would bring along with it might happen to be detrimental to the public peace, and occasion a general disaffection, create abundance of fears and jealousies, which would perhaps end in an open rebellion; his Lordship, upon this, immediately replied, 'That, when they had all the money in the kingdom in their own hands, which, by this means, they would have, there was nothing of this nature to

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be apprehended, but what might in the end turn to the King's advantage; for they had an army ready, and they might have what farther supplies they pleased from abroad; that he would put himself at the head of them, and that he doubted not but he should be able to put a stop to any attempts of that kind; besides that, this would give the King a fair opportunity to make himself absolute, when it appeared that his British subjects were not to be depended upon.'

Whoever was truly acquainted with this noble Peer, must be very sensible that he always meant what he spoke, and that he did not want resolution to execute what he once had engaged in; we have seen him live to accomplish some part of his project; we have seen it have those ill consequences which were expected from it; and if the remaining parts of it are not yet entirely come to pass, nobody knows how soon they may.

To convince the world that the like policies have prevailed since the death of this noble Lord, I shall take the liberty to communicate what I learned from a worthy gentleman, lately arrived from Germany, who, discoursing there with a certain Prime Minister about the design of the South Sea Company, in carrying on a trade to Greenland, according to the proposition so much talked of, this gentleman argued, that such a project, if it should succeed, might so far prejudice the Dutch, as to induce them to break their alli-

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ance with his Britannic Majesty. To obviate this objection, his Excellency read a paragraph out of a letter he received, the post before, from a certain Minister in England, which paragraph, with two more, the Gentleman had the favour to transcribe, in order to satisfy his friends in Holland: they are in substance as follows:—

‘ Our neighbours ought to take no umbrage at what the South Sea Company did in relation to the Greenland Fishery, for neither the King, nor his friends, will attempt any thing in earnest, of that kind, to their prejudice. We are under a necessity of making a treaty with Spain, in order to amuse them, as they have amused us all along, and the better to assist our fast friends of the House of Austria: for though we should not perform any stipulations made with the Spaniard, we doubt not but we shall find excuses enough in this country, from the jealousies and emulations of the contending factions, to come off from such engagements with sufficient reputation. In a little time you will find what I hinted in all my dispatches will prove true; the Act of Indemnity and some late Acts, are instances of it, though some indeed murmur at them, yet all are silenced, and dare not go to law, or even open their mouths, unless it be over a bottle in their private clubs: so that I hope, in less than a year more, the King will be in a condition to make all dance after his own pipe.’

If you recollect each passage contained in these papers, I believe you must think they discover such a scene of iniquity, and such a plot against the liberties of Britain, as no history can well parallel; but what is most surprising is, that natives of this soil can put their helping hand, and contribute, as much as in them lies, to their country's ruin.

I am sensible in whose hands a great part of the money lent upon stock and subscriptions is lodged, and I beg leave to assure my countrymen, who have not observed it, that the riches of the nation are so disposed of, as to contribute to its farther ruin and slavery. The Government is very sensible that it cannot depend upon British troops to complete their designs, and therefore there is no Prince with whom they have entered into a firm alliance, but they have contracted for a certain number of troops to be in readiness upon all emergencies, not only to subdue the liberties of the people, but also to curb and cashier our soldiery; for, it seems, whoever is of British growth, or not thoroughly initiated among them, is upon the weak bottom of suspected credit; the truth is, they will trust such men no longer than till they can do without them, because they are afraid lest they may happen to have some remorse about them, some remains of love for their country.

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But there is sufficient care taken, that when His Majesty's designs are ripe for execution, he will be under no necessity to depend upon the fidelity of British soldiers; the present King of Prussia has nearly 70,000 men at this time in pay. Now, I should be glad to know of those Gentlemen who are acquainted with the revenues of that crown, and the extent of those dominions, how far His Prussian Majesty is able to keep such a number of men in continual pay: I am sure, according to the best computation that I have been able to make, His Prussian Majesty cannot constantly maintain an army of 20,000 men; and, if so, I am sure every considerate man must conclude, that some other Potentate is concerned in the maintaining of them. Besides, it is evident, that such an extraordinary number of troops can be of no service to that Prince, since he is at peace with all the world: And farther, we find that those neighbours, who may seem to be most concerned, take no umbrage at his extraordinary armament, being sensible by whom, and with what design they are maintained.

These are the facts, and these are the schemes I have at this time thought fit to acquaint my countrymen with before they are involved in a common ruin. I am no party writer; I neither prefer the interest of Whig nor Tory; there are, in both those parties, men so notoriously vile, as

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no country was ever cursed with the like; nor are there, on the other hand, wanting in both, men of the strictest honour and regard for the public good. What I say I know. These little distinctions among us are propagated by the real enemies of us all, by men that have designs upon our common liberties: for I beg leave to assure the world, that the question now is, not whether Whig or Tory, Church of Englandman or dissenter, is to prevail, but between British liberty, and foreign arbitrary dominion.

If, after this warning, party-humour prevails before public good, the evils designed against us will be our common punishment.

P. S. I have forgot to mention one thing very material to be known, which was transacted at the late Peace concluded at Utrecht. His present Majesty, then Elector of Hanover, and his German Ministers, were under some apprehensions that the affairs of Britain would take such a turn at that juncture, that it would be no easy matter to unravel them: and Baron Bothmar was employed to influence the several Powers then united in the Grand Alliance, not to come into the measures of Britain, but to stand it out to the last, in opposition to all amicable inclinations. These transactions had such an influence upon our affairs, that, though the British Ministry bore up

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against all opposition, yet this visible partiality in the next successor to the British throne, was such a weight upon all their measures, that all the real hardships which this nation laboured under from that peace, were only the necessary consequences of the violent opposition it met with in Germany and Holland, by the interest of the House of Hanover.

There are also several other dangerous contrivances now in agitation among the Germans, which the times will not bear to be made public; and I fear the nation will sooner feel than know the evils designed against them: Nor is it consistent with my present safety, at this juncture, to give the world any more particular discoveries.

P A R T II.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

CICERO.

THE design of these papers is to give some farther account of that family which now reigns over us, and of their several projects and contrivances in order to aggrandize themselves, and to raise their fortunes to such a height, as none of their ancestors, who were no more than petty Princes of the Empire, had any hope or prospect of.

Indeed, when men endeavour to advance their fortune or honour by just and laudable means, they deserve the praise and approbation of all men; but whenever virtue is sacrificed to feed ambition, and no stone is left unturned, in order to that end, we can do no otherways than look upon such designs with such contempt and indignation, as we would do upon those of public robbers, and common disturbers of mankind.

It is a piece of justice which every writer must comply with, who will give an account of the Hanoverian family, if he is true to the laws of history, and particularly to that rule laid down by Cicero in my motto, to represent them as persons who have established no other fundamental prin-

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ciple, but ambition, for the government of all their actions.

I shall then, in the first place, give the reader a view of them in their original condition, before they arrived to that height and grandeur which they have now attained to; and this I do, with a design to encourage even the meanest of our British nobility, not to despond, but rest firmly satisfied, if they lay down this maxim for their government, not to stick at principle of honour or virtue, that some of their posterity may one day sit down and be numbered among the great princes and rulers of the earth.

The House of Hanover is the youngest branch of the Wolfembutle Family, formerly known by the title of Dukes of Brunswick, who were never reputed of any consequence in the Empire, even before the division of that house into the three branches of Wolfembuttle, Zell, and Hanover: For, in our Henry the Third's days, this family, in its then united condition, was so poor as to be obliged to petition that Prince, to allow their minister five merks a-year for his maintainance: nor was their condition much mended even so late as Queen Elizabeth's reign; for the then Duke of Brunswick made it his humble suit to that Princess, to obtain some small pension to

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 308, 309.

supply his wants, which we find, by a grant under the Privy Seal, published in Rymer's *Fœdera*, she complied with. : ' Sciatis quod nos, de gratia nostra speciali, per avisamentum and consensum concilii nostri, considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus, charissimo, and perquam fideli amico nostro Otthoni Duci Brunswicensi et Lunenburgensi, trecentarum et septuaginta quinque librarum legalis monetæ nostræ Angliæ,* &c. : Know ye, that, of our special grace, with advice and consent of our council, and for good considerations us thereunto moving, we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, to our dear faithful friend, Ottho, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, a certain annuity, or annual pension, of three hundred and seventy and five pounds of our lawful money of England.

There are two things very remarkable in this grant; the one is, that the Queen dignifies the head of this house with no other title than that of her friend; she doth not vouchsafe to call him so much as her cousin, which is a common stile used by Princes, towards those of the first rank and quality: and therefore we may well conclude, that this family was not reputed, in her reign, so

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 578.

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honourable as we are now persuaded to believe they were.

The other remarkable conclusion to be drawn from this grant is, the poverty and meanness of their condition at that time: for if they had been of any consequence to her interest abroad, the sum had either been greater or none at all; our poorest Yea and Nay pensioners in the House of Commons would despise such a salary as this: they would rate their country at a much greater value than to sell it for such a trifle, and therefore we must conclude, that this annuity was a merciful subsistence granted to support a distressed family.

I do not find they made any considerable figure in Germany, until it was about the middle of the last century: for they were then made the tools of France, to diminish the power and grandeur of the House of Austria; and they were the constant pensioners of that crown, until the late happy revolution here in Britain. By this means it was that they began to enrich themselves, and were able to make some appearance at the fag-end of the French faction in Germany, in whose pay they continued until the late King William brought them over, by the influence of British money, (which they had a particular veneration for ever since) into the projects of the Austrian Family and their adherents. Being thus a little elevated

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above themselves, by the strength, first of French and afterwards of British money, they began to make some noise in the world, and to appear upon several occasions, as a family of some consequence; but, before this period, they were much upon the level, both in fortune and blood, with our nobility of middle rank. Indeed, they have reason to glory in one accession of blood, that was made to their House in the person of the late Princess Sophia, who had the honour to be descended by a female alliance from the royal family of Britain, yet it is well known that the honour of a family depends principally upon the male line: besides, there are several of our nobility, who have as much, if not more reason to be proud of their descent from the blood royal, than the House of Hanover. When any noble family intermarries either on the one side or on the other, beneath themselves, it is a great stain upon their honour, which I take to be exactly the case before us: yet, when only the male makes a false step of this kind, it is generally forgot in the next generation, and the children of such a father inherits all his honours, without any regard had to the ignobility of the mother; but when a woman acts in this manner beneath herself, her children are reputed, in a court of honour, to inherit but a small share of nobility beyond what is derived from the father.

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But there is yet a farther inconvenience that particularly retards his Britannic Majesty's title to a noble birth: for those who are acquainted with the secret history of the House of Hanover, are sensible that there was a more than common suspicion, that the late Princess Sophia was not a little amorously inclined, much beyond what was consistent with her duty; that the late Duke, her husband, was a quiet, easy, good-natured man, had one of his generals quartered upon him, who often rid in his saddle when he went a-hunting, or was otherways called from home; and it has been a common observation, that none of that Duke's children resembled him. The outward conduct of that Princess, as well as what the King's Hanoverian subjects insinuate upon this head, puts those facts beyond dispute: for it is most certain, that she expressed herself very oddly on several occasions, particularly her frequent custom to drink her own health in a bumper, by the stile of the *best* in Christendom, besides several other expressions, at which your nicer palates would have been offended.

I am sorry that I have been obliged, even so much as to hint at an affair of this nature, too tender indeed to be touched upon, as well with regard to His Britannic Majesty's honour, as to that of the British nation in general, for certainly there can be no greater reflection cast upon any

country, than to say, that the prince which governs it is of a spurious original: and truly I believe I should have concealed this part of the history were it not for my motto, which I have consulted upon this occasion; and I find, by the rule laid down there, that I could not well avoid taking notice of this intrigue, (upon which a great deal more may be said) without drawing down upon myself the scandal of being a partial writer.

The course of the history requires that I should now give some account how this family proceeded in their measures to get into power. The late Princess Sophia, having an intriguing head, had nothing more at heart than to aggrandize her posterity, by concerting measures to procure an union of the Dutchies of Zell and Hanover, in the eldest son of her House, though there was a contract, of an ancient standing, between those two families, that their honours and estates should never be united in the same Prince; but, notwithstanding this, that Princess was resolved to sacrifice all the laws of honour, as well as private property, to compass her designs; and therefore she considered, that if she could prevail with the Duke of Zell to marry a French woman, by whom he had a daughter who was then above six years old, and, by the laws of the Empire, the child would be legitimated in virtue of such a marriage,

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and, in consequence of this, she would find it easy then to procure a match between her eldest son and this young lady.

This woman, afterwards Dutchess of Zell, and grandmother to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was the daughter of a private gentleman of Poictou in France, who came into Flanders along with Madame Tremouille, as her waiting-woman, where the late Duke of Zell happened to meet with her, and was so taken with her person as to fall in love with her: This poor woman was easily prevailed upon to leave that honest way of life which she then led, to gratify the Duke's appetites, and, as it hath since fallen out, to supply England with Princes: for he had by her that daughter, some years before marriage, who is now wife to his Britannic Majesty.

The artifices which were then used to bring the Duke into this scheme, were first to secure the Prince's Prime Minister Berensdorf, whose business it was to remove all difficulties which might ly in the way to prevent the Duke from complying with this design. And, in the next place, it was contrived to get the Duke invited to Hanover to an entertainment, a thing frequently practised by these two families, and, at the same time, the child was procured to be brought thither, as if it were by accident. When things were thus prepared, an English lady who was in the plot,

took the child to play with, and made use of that opportunity to run out extravagantly in praise of her beauty: nor did she want others who were prepared to second her in these encomiums, which soon drew the Duke's eyes to fix upon the child, who presently joined with the company in their sentiments of it, and said it was a princely child. Upon which the Princess Sophia replied, that he was very much in the right in saying so, because it was his own. The Duke was upon this at first a little surprised, for he had never seen her before, at least to take any notice of her, but, when he found the jest true, he persevered in his former opinion, and appeared to be not a little fond of his new daughter.

The Duke being thus taken, the Princess and the rest of the Company made use of their united persuasions to incline him to marry the mother, representing what pity it would be that so fine a creature, when she came to maturity, should be branded with illegitimacy. At last the Duke, not a little pleased with the infant, was prevailed upon to comply with their desires; but first he procured the Emperor Leopold to make the mother a countess of the Empire. These were the means made use of to legitimate his Royal Highness's mother, which, because they seem a little extraordinary, I have thought it necessary to communicate to the reader.

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The Princess Sophia having by these arts obtained her main end, she had no very difficult task to perform afterwards; for, in a few years, she accomplished a marriage between her eldest son, His present Majesty, and the young Lady, who was thus legitimated, where she obtained that desirable union of the Dukedoms of Zell and Hanover; though this proceeding was directly contrary (as I have already observed) to a fundamental contract, of a very ancient standing, between the two families.

This alliance so enraged the second son of Hanover, Prince Maximilian, whose right it was to inherit the Dukedom of Zell, that he rebelled against his father, and was supported in it under-hand by the King of Denmark, and other Princes; but the enterprise being discovered before it was truly ripened, the late Elector got General Mulke and the Prince secured: the General had his head cut off, but the Prince was some time afterwards released by powerful intercessions, went to serve the Venetians in the Morea, turned Roman Catholic, and is at present in the Emperor's Court, where he has the reputation of being a person of more sense and honour than all the survivors of his family.

Treachery and injustice, though they often meet with success, yet we find that they frequently meet with rubs and disappointments. This mar-

riage being thus effected, and Prince Maximilian's pretensions being by this means defeated, it was the pleasure of Providence so to order it, that the greatest of evils, as I may justly call it, befel the couple in whose persons these two Dukedoms were united; an evil that will reflect dishonour upon themselves and all their posterity: for it afterwards proved, that this young lady's appetites were too violent to be confined to one man. An uncommon familiarity was soon after observed between her and Coningsmark, a Saxon nobleman, who used to keep his winter quarters at Hanover. Their amours had their full swing for some time, but they were at last discovered, and the Count's motions were watched so narrowly, that he was taken almost in the very fact; for he was found in her bed-chamber, where he was murdered, and the Lady had the horrid satisfaction of being shut up with her dead gallant, for the long space of twenty-four hours, before she was removed to the place of her present confinement.

This notorious stain upon the family being thus brought to light, it created no small uneasiness at the Court of Hanover: nor could His present Majesty be prevailed upon to own this Lady's children, until the late King William made such an acknowledgment a necessary article in order to the settlement of the succession to the Crown of Great Britain in this illustrious house.

The noise of this unlucky discovery carried along with it many disagreeable effects, particularly, the Prince of Anspach, her present Royal Highness's father, was at first by no means to be prevailed upon to match his daughter into a family that had received so great a stain upon their honour; but the prospect he had of King William's designs, with relation to this House, prevailed with that Prince, as well as the dazzling glories of a crown did with the young Princess, to overlook all difficulties, and to submit to this ignoble union.

This family having, by the arts and contrivances already mentioned, raised themselves far above their original condition, their next project was to procure yet more honours, by being one of the Electoral Houses of the Empire; but they considered that this could not be done without the concurrence, and even assistance of the Roman Catholic Powers, as well as by the connivance and encouragement of King William: the latter they were sure of, but how to bring the former into their measures, was the main point to be considered. The Duke of Hanover therefore applied himself to that intriguing and projecting Society, the Jesuits, in order to bring this affair about; and one Father Wolf was the principal agent employed, not only to influence the Emperor, but also to perform the same office with the rest of the Catho-

lic Princes in Germany. This reverend father's endeavours had the desired effect, for this new acquisition to the House of Hanover was easily obtained by his interest, and that of his Society. The main objection made against this new promotion, was, that it would make the power of the Protestants in Germany too considerable; but this was soon obviated by a promise made by the late Elector, that His present Majesty should declare himself a Roman Catholic; which he certainly would have done, had it not been for the hopes they soon after entertained to have the succession to the crown of England settled in this illustrious House. And we are not to wonder that His Majesty's religion has so much of the Prince in it; for his mother, the late Princess Sophia, took care to educate her children, so as to be susceptible of any religion, which should afterwards appear to be the most for their interest; for that Princess being asked by a certain person, Why she suffered her daughter's education to be so much neglected, as to be incapable to give any account of her religion, farther than what nature dictated? her answer to this was, That she had not yet determined whether she should marry her to a Roman Catholic, or to a Protestant.

The House of Hanover having thus obtained the Electorate, have not as yet thought fit to comply with one of the main conditions whereby it was

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obtained, though His Majesty, on this head, seems to act as honourably as is consistent with his other affairs; for he hath all along been true to the Catholic interest, even so far as to be the main instrument in banishing the King of Sweden, the prime support of the Protestant religion, out of Germany; nor has he been wanting in point of gratitude, to his fast friends the Jesuits, even since he came to the crown of Britain; for he has built them a college at Hanover with our money, which was finished but lately, and he has endowed it with large privileges. The main business of these Fathers is to instruct the youth of the country: nor have we any reason to doubt but he will do us the same favour as soon as he is fully settled to his mind, and has made himself 'master of his own actions,'* which, in plain English, signifies an arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects,

That His Majesty's affairs are influenced by the members of this Society, is a thing which the Hanoverian Ministry, I am sure, cannot deny: for it is well known to those Gentlemen that the Jesuits are now employed by our King, in most of the Courts of Christendom, as his agents and spies; and their principal business is, to have a strict eye upon the British Ministers that are now employed abroad.

* A Saying used among the Hanoverians.

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The good Catholics of Ireland already feel the happy influences of His Majesty's government: for they have not for many years received so large a share of Court favours as they now enjoy: and we are not to doubt, but where these holy Fathers of the Society wield the sceptre, they will soon convince the creatures, that it is no iron rod, but pure gold with respect to them.

To confirm what I have written upon this head, I shall be so free as to transcribe a passage out of the *Monthly Mercury* for November, 1692, who is a writer that comes from the other side of the water, and therefore he is of some credit as to facts that happened in his own time, and even at his own door:—

‘ It is now some months ago that we told you there was a discourse of erecting a new Electorate in favour of the Most Serene House of Lunenburg; and we further hinted, that most people were afraid that the Duke of Hanover would meet with obstacles, and that they would use their utmost endeavours at Rome to dissuade the Emperor from having any such thoughts. In a word, because this Prince is a Protestant, there was a great probability that they would oppose this new election; nevertheless, the Pope has given his consent for reasons unknown to us, and which we are not permitted to dive into: but they from whom the opposition was least suspected, are the

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persons that start the greatest difficulties. Several Princes and States of the Empire pretend, that the Emperor has no right to elect a new Electorate, that things ought to be left alone as they are, and that the fundamental laws of the Empire are not to be violated, which ordain that the colleges of the cities ought to give their suffrages upon such occasions; and, in a word, that they ought not to take away a member from the Colleges of the Princes.*

I must own it is not very material what such a writer as this says, yet a man may see how common opinion ran at that time; and it was certain, that the chief promoters of the House of Hanover to the Electorate, were the Court of Rome, and their close adherents, and that it was the Protestant Powers only, who took umbrage at this new promotion, for the reasons I have already hinted at.

I shall proceed but a very little further at this time, upon the private affairs of the House of Hanover, and of their several projects and intrigues, which are, in some measure, foreign with respect to the particular affairs of Britain. I therefore design to close up this account with a short hint upon their amours; for they seem to have had a taste in this way peculiar to themselves. Their mistresses seem to be hereditary, and they are

* Mercury, vol. iii. page 421.

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loath to crack a commandment out of their own kindred. His Majesty is certainly a very great instance of this; for as the old Countess of Palatine was the late Elector's mistress, so the daughter has acted in the same capacity to the present. This last lady has a very pretty daughter, and not unlike the King, whom he fell in love with the last time he was in Germany even to that degree, that he would fain have brought her over with him into Britain; but her supposed father could by no means be prevailed with to comply with his Majesty's desires; and, therefore, just upon his coming away, he attempted to satisfy his appetites by force; but the Count, having an intimation of it, got his friends and tenants together, and gave them orders to shoot any man that should attempt to come and offer violence to the fair lady; upon this a scuffle arose, but the Lord Stanhope, foreseeing the consequences, prevailed with the King to desist from that enterprise. And this was the foundation of that plot, which made so great noise in our newspapers, as if the Czar of Muscovy had employed a party to intercept His Majesty in his return from Hanover into Holland, when he last came from thence.

The present Dutchess of Munster is indeed an instance that contradicts this account of the Hanoverian amours; for as it appears, either by tradition or history, she is the first of her family that

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has acted in the capacity she is commonly reputed to do in the House of Brunswick-Hanover: but there being something very particular in this lady's history, I shall not omit the following account of her :—

This gentlewoman is descended from an ancient but very poor family in Saxony, and she was brought to Hanover by Baron Bothmar, who recommended her to Mrs Zuarts, the Elector's mistress, and, being but meanly clothed, she gave her two new suits, and made her her own chambermaid, and soon after procured her to be a maid of honour, to the late Princess Sophia: but she had not been long at Court, before His Majesty fell very much in love with her; at which her first patroness, Madam Zuarts, took the pet, her nose being put out of joint; for she soon came to be reputed the prime mistress to his then Electoral Highness. The noise of this new amour was so great, that the Predicator, or Minister, being influenced by Mrs Zuarts, refused the now Madam Munster the sacrament at the Easter following, until she could clear herself from this public scandal. Upon this there was a grand council held, in order to concert proper measures how to get over this new difficulty; and it being found that His Majesty could not master his affections, it was at last resolved that a consistory should be called

of civilians and divines, before whom all the vouchers were laid relating to the adulteries committed between His Majesty's wife and Count Coningsmark, which, after due examination, that venerable body of men concluded, that they had grounds sufficient to declare His Majesty's former marriage void, and that he was at liberty to marry whom he pleased. It was reported afterwards that he was actually married to Madam Schulenburg, as she was then called, at least their cohabiting together was looked upon to be a marriage of conscience, which is what is usual in that country. However, this is certain, that she was soon after admitted to the sacrament, notwithstanding it was publicly known that she continued to hold the same kind of correspondence with His Majesty, which she had formerly done.

Since he came to the Crown of Britain, it has been likewise reported, that this marriage was confirmed, a few years ago at Hanover, by a certain Western English Bishop, who is himself known to be a well-wisher to the mathematics; and this was done with a view, as is supposed, that he might in time be a good voucher to satisfy the British nation of her being the King's lawful wife: For you must know that this lady is big with the expectation to be crowned Queen of Britain, and her children to be declared legitimate descendants from the blood-royal.

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But, lest the reader should conclude, from this one instance that His Majesty degenerates either from himself, or family, I must beg leave to affirm that there are vouchers sufficient to satisfy the contrary: for you must know, that the Duchess of Munster's sister, Madam Inhausen, is known to have had a considerable share of His Majesty's favours, as well as the Duchess; nor do the King's two daughters by these ladies go without their turns in His Majesty's seraglio. One of them, indeed, has been lately married to Count D'Alippa, since his arrival from France last summer, with whom he had £30,000, British money, as a portion, so that now this young lady is otherways provided for; but we may perceive by this, His Majesty's paternal care, and tender concern to supply the wants and necessities of all his children and favourites.

I have done with those affairs that relate particularly to the House of Hanover, and I doubt not but my countrymen, who have been always jealous of the honour of their Princes, will easily conclude what they are to expect from the Government of Princess so well descended as His Majesty and his Royal Highness, and who are possessed with all those properties that belong to their family; I therefore proceed now to consider our own affairs, which have been transacted since His Majesty's accession to the throne, and which have

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been omitted in the preceding part of this history.

It will not be improper, in the first place, to relate a piece of secret history omitted before, whereby it will appear how indifferent the late Princess Sophia was with regard to the succession, under the strict limitations mentioned in the Act of Settlement, and therefore she got that party who seemed to adhere strictly to the interest of her House, to raise a clamour against the late Queen and her Ministry, as if they acted underhand in favour of the **PRETENDER**. For which reason, as she pretended, she told her adherents, that she and her family would make an offer to the Parliament of resigning their pretensions to the Crown;* accordingly she nominated the late Lords

* That the reader may be better confirmed in the truth of what is here asserted, I have transcribed part of a letter which that Princess wrote to an English Lady, in August, 1718, on the same occasion:—‘ My dear Lady, the Queen, hath got rid of the gout, and I find I have got it. It is the only inheritance I am to expect from her; for you are not the only person that advises me not to rely upon her promises, or those of her Ministers. I am satisfied she designs to make an atonement for her false steps, but I am resolved to be beforehand with her, and let the world see that my right is as well grounded as hers. If she is resolved to do justice to her brother, it shall not be at my expence; I shall quit my pretensions into the hands of those that gave them me, and so be off with honour.’

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Wharton, Somers, Halifax, and another who is still alive, though now in a different interest, to negociate this affair in both Houses; but the death of the late Princess Sophia, as well as that of the Queen, put a stop to this very singular enterprise.

This scheme, however strange it may appear, yet it carried along with it two dangerous views; for nobody could imagine but that there must be some great plot in agitation, which must induce the House of Hanover to make this extraordinary renunciation; and the other was, that in case they saw the Queen and Parliament resolve to call home the PRETENDER, they might hereby give an early opportunity for the fast friends of the illustrious House to make their court to that Gentleman, and, by the help of their money and dissimulation, to acquire the management of him, in order to find out means, in a few years to send him a-packing, as his father was served before him; for the Princess Sophia urged, that such a revolution, in favour of her family, would enable them to act without any controul, and oblige the English to come into their own terms, having no competitor to deal with; whereas they are now tied down to the narrow rules of a mixt Constitution. I appeal to a surviving Lord as to the truth of this affair.

By this it appears, that it was the intention of this family, to break through the Act of Settle-

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ment, even before they accepted of the crown, if it could be practised by any probable scheme, they having no notion of any other rule in government, but what is arbitrary; nor indeed has their conduct ever since, given us the least room to doubt, but that they persevere in the same opinion; nay, they are so stedfast herein, that His Majesty would not have staid thus long amongst us, were it not for the promises that have been made him, and the prospects he has, of being an absolute monarch; and every man that appears for his country, against these schemes, is treated as an enemy to the Hanover Succession, though they have always appeared, in a lawful way, to have acted in its favour. My Lord Cowper is an eminent instance of this; for this great Peer has, by his whole conduct, proved himself to be a true friend to this family, while their designs appeared consistent with the liberty and property of his fellow-subjects: But this nobleman has since been obliged to quit his share in the Administration, in order to exert those extraordinary talents he is so happily blessed with, in the behalf of his country, and in opposition to the united force of King, Lords, and Commons, aided, abetted by foreigners, already determined to impoverish and enslave us. Our present condition is something extraordinary; for there is no single instance to be found in our history, wherein those three Estates have joined in an interest (as will ap-

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pear by several flagrant instances on the Journals of both Houses) directly opposite to that of the people.

This noble Lord's behaviour has indeed given the Hanoverian Ministry, and their devotees, an occasion to bespatter him, after a very unjust and scurrilous manner, both in their letters to one another, and in their conversation, which I omit here, as looking upon the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ* to be the fittest common-sewer in Europe to convey such Hanoverian scandal to the world.

There are some Scotch Noblemen who are also sufferers upon this account, for they declared themselves attached to the Prince's interest, and advised to oppose the Hanoverian schemes; but as soon as the Hanoverian Ministry began to perceive this, and that his Highness began to affect popularity, they immediately laid before him the bad tendency of his proceedings, and that he was an enemy to his own interest; for His Majesty's aims were no other than to advance his family, by making them independent of Parliaments; and that he of all men should rather assist than hinder His Majesty's designs; it being his interest to lessen the limitations they lay under, since it was his turn next to succeed to the crown.

These reasons prevailed with his Highness, not only to desist from adhering to these noble Lords, sentiments, but also to discard them from his fa-

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vours; for the Hanoverian ministry, as well as the late Lord Stanhope, that Hanoverian tool, represented the Scotch, in general, as an insatiable, beggarly people, and that, where they got power, they were insupportably insolent.

Another very manifest instance of the Hanoverian designs upon our liberties, is the notorious encouragement that was given to the late Scotch and Preston rebellions, when both might have been prevented by the early notice the Court had of his rash enterprize; yet, by the influence of Hanoverian councils, all were suffered to embark in it who were that way inclined, the Hanoverian ministry being sure that their foreign Allies would enable them to come off conquerors, and by this means they would have the most plausible pretence to keep up a standing army, to carry on their main design of introducing an arbitrary Government into this kingdom: but it so fell out, that none engaged themselves in that insurrection, besides a few hot-headed people, so that they had not pretences sufficient to support what they aimed at, which was to bring such a foreign army into the nation, as might answer all their purposes; though I have often heard them since express their sorrow in their private conversation, because they did not make use of that opportunity to put their designs in execution.

However, King George was farther confirmed

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in his opinion by these insurrections, that the whole British nation were a purse-proud treacherous people, and therefore he applied himself in earnest to find out new measures whereby their haughty spirits might be humbled. The best expedients, soon after thought upon for that purpose, were the concerting alliances with such foreign powers as the people of England used to entertain the greatest jealousies of, as well with regard to religion as politics; but, before this could be put in execution, it was necessary to do some public act, whereby those foreign Princes were to be convinced that King George was warm in his resolutions to serve them at the expence of the British subjects, without any regard had to the consequences of their resentments: in pursuance whereof, guineas were, by royal proclamation, reduced to somewhat less than the intrinsic value, aspecially such as were little or nothing worn.

The damage sustained by this reduction to the English, Scotch, and Irish, is incredible; because foreigners were hereby encouraged to make use of this advantageous opportunity to carry our guineas over into France, Germany, and Holland; where they were soon after observed to be as common as they are here in England. Indeed, there were plausible reasons, at that time, given for lowering our gold, which might in some measure justify such a proceeding, if the foreign exchanges

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had been in our favour; but as they were not, we are bound to hear, feel, and see the calamities of the distressed daily increasing, and no answer made to that very material question, viz. What is become of our circulating cash? This was done, on our part, by way of an earnest to France and Holland, &c. of what our future behaviour towards them would be. Nor did our Hanoverian Court rest here, but they found it necessary to engage in their favour (if possible) the ecclesiastical as well as the civil interest of all the Roman Catholic Powers, by a toleration of those of that religion in this kingdom. This was done to satisfy the Emperor, that by this means His Majesty was resolved to secure himself on the throne; for his Imperial Majesty was always suspicious, that the English Ministry had some underhand dealings with the southern Powers, to the prejudice of the House of Austria; and therefore the Hanoverian Minister there, to obviate these objections, wrote a letter to the following purpose, some time ago, to the agent at Vienna, in order for him to communicate the contents of it to the Chancellor of the Empire:—‘His Imperial Majesty has no reason to distrust the present Ministry, for they will come into any measures that will tend to inhaunce the debts of Great Britain, not out of any respect they have to our master, to enrich themselves by impoverishing the crown, in order to render monarchical govern-

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ment odious to the people: this hath been their constant maxim; but His Majesty can make his own use of them to obtain his ends, it being in his own power to displace them at pleasure, there being others that are forward enough to run His Majesty's lengths, should they scruple it.

‘The faction at present attached to the Chevalier's interest, which his Imperial Majesty is apprehensive to be supported by the southern Popish Powers, is of no great consequence; for their measures will, in all probability, be all disconcerted, since the King intends to give the Roman Catholics, in his dominions here, the same protection and privileges that he does those in his own country, their number being too inconsiderable to give us any great uneasiness; and even those in Ireland, where they are most numerous, may easily be gained, by granting them some privileges with relation to their trade, as well as religion, which the British, in all reigns, have refused them; so that we doubt not but their interest will oblige them to become His Majesty's best subjects.’

This, I presume, will easily lead Britons into a new way of thinking: For by this they may perceive, why Walpole and Townsend were formerly discarded, but they have since been taught humility and a great amendment of manners; and we may further find the reason why Abbot Strickland made such a bustle, when he undertook to

bring the Roman Catholics to swear allegiance to his present Majesty, promising them not only protection without paying double taxes, but also a free toleration of their religion throughout the King's dominions; but it so happened, that the Papists were stiff, and the Abbot lost a cardinal's hat, which was to have been his reward for performing this extraordinary enterprize; and, lastly, we now see with what views the Roman Catholics in Ireland are at this time allowed greater privileges than they have for many years enjoyed.

The next thing I shall present the reader with, is some account of a misunderstanding that has not long since happened between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia, which indeed has been very propitious to the liberties of Britain. I need not tell the world how this quarrel turns out to our advantage, because what is said in the former part of this history, with relation to Prussia, is, I think, a sufficient testimony of that.

Some will have this breach to be owing to a design, which His Majesty had of owning his marriage with the Duchess of Munster; but in this they are mistaken, for that matter was made up by the late Lord Stanhope, by virtue of a round sum of British money. But this difference was really occasioned by a disagreement between Baron Ilgen, His Prussian Majesty's minister, and Baron Be-

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rensдорф, about the several schemes of their respective masters.

The King of Prussia who is a rash, injudicious, but a very ambitious Prince, had, some time ago, a design of making himself King of the Romans, and likewise, under a pretence of serving the Protestant cause, of making the Empire, for the future alternative, *i. e.* one time in a Protestant, and the next in a Popish family. Baron Ilgen represented his master's views of this kind in very pressing terms to Berensдорф, intimating, 'that he doubted not but his master's father-in-law would not only assist him with all his power, both as Elector and King of Great Britain, but also that he would engage France, by the means of the Duke Regent, to be of his side against the House of Austria, that old inveterate enemy of the House of Bourbon.' But, in answer to this, Berensдорф expressed himself to the following effect:—'that His Prussian Majesty ought not to think of such projects until His Britannic Majesty was firmly settled, to his own heart's content, upon the throne of Great Britain. That, as yet, he was no more in effect than half a King: for what the British call their Parliament, does pretend not only to influence, but even to guide and direct His Majesty's actions whether he will or not. That he must have some time to diminish at least, if not to destroy, their power; that it was His Prussian

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Majesty's business to wait until this could be brought about, and to assist the King in it. That when this point was gained in Britain, His Britannic Majesty might then be enabled to induce both France and Spain to countenance and support His Prussian Majesty in prosecuting his measures. That the King had a design to oblige those two Crowns to comply with his measures, by granting to the first some concessions with respect to their trade, and by repairing some damages done them by Britain in a former reign, that he proposed to surrender to the latter a place or two, which are of no consequence to the King's interest, but are very beneficial to Spain, when in their hands.'

How this remarkable conversation will relish here, I cannot say; but I am very well assured, that it was disagreeable enough to the Court of Prussia; for that Prince looked upon those as only mere excuses to cover King George's own designs of making Prince Frederick King of the Romans, at the expense of England, which is the reason given in Germany, for their not permitting him to come into England, and his Prussian Majesty has continued his jealousy ever since upon this score.

This affords us new light into the boundless ambition of both Courts, and we find the Protestant part of Europe are designed to be made tools to support it; the power of Parliaments, and the Act

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of Settlement are to be broke through; the little trade gained from France, by the treaty of Utrecht, to be given up; Mardyke, in all likelihood, to be rebuilt for them, and Port Mahon and Gibraltar to be surrendered to Spain.

The British nation have little reason to despise those contrivances of their enemies, since we have neither Allies abroad, nor virtue nor valour at home, to defend our liberties. I would not have them think these things to be mere whimsical chimeras, hatched in some malicious brain, purely to frighten them, but as real deep-laid designs, contrived, by cool diabolical heads, in order to aggrandize one or two ambitious families at the expense of millions; and, which is worse, determined to be put in execution, as soon as proper tools, villainous enough, can be procured. However, it is to be hoped, very few will be found bad enough to assist those foreign harpies in the destruction of their country; but if there should,

..... is there not some chosen curse,
 Some hidden Thunder in the stores of Heaven,
 Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man
 That owes his greatness to his country's ruin!

Cato.

The reader has been already, in some measure, instructed in what we are to expect from this fa-

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mily, and how they have, from time to time, involved us in foreign wars, created differences between us and those countries to whom we are most obliged, which could be done with no other view than to ruin our trade, and so impoverish us both in our purses and spirits, and thereby to weaken us in our inclinations to engage, to any purpose, in vindication of these very valuable things, our laws and liberties, which they have a fixed purpose to destroy, for, until His Majesty can make himself a complete master of these, it is thought to be a thing impracticable for him to carry on, with advantage, his ambitious projects abroad. We all remember, that the pretended design of the late quadruple alliance was to preserve the Peace of Utrecht, though the stipulations with regard to Italy, contained in that treaty, were directly contrary to this alliance, as also against the known interest of Britain. For certainly it is none of our interest that Sicily should be under the dominion of the House of Austria the Germans, in general, having been observed to be an idle, lazy, proud people, and are always fatal to trade, wherever they get any footing; for they impose such exorbitant customs upon all commodities, to support their own luxury and grandeur, even so far as to render all trade with their dominions almost impracticable.

But His Majesty's and the Emperor's designs,

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by this alliance, being now in some measure answered, the King has since endeavoured to prevail with His Imperial Majesty, to turn his army toward the North, to curb the Czar, and to counterbalance his designs in Germany, and, particularly, he is very pressing with him to lodge a considerable number of troops in Flanders, to be in readiness to secure his attempts upon the liberties of the British; nor is it to be doubted, but that we shall hear more of this German negotiation, as soon as His Majesty can spare money to bestow among the Imperial Ministers, to incline them to support his enterprizes: but lest this should fail, and the Emperor should happen to be jealous of His Britannic Majesty's growing power, and ambitious designs, the Hanoverian Ministers and their adherents, have otherways provided against all miscarriages of this kind; for our old standing corps are to be kept up, and not be recruited with Britons, but are to be underhand filled up with foreigners from Germany, and all our officers are likewise forthwith to be sent a-packing, when things are brought to a crisis; so that we are to have an army of foreigners in our own bowels, ready to give the blow before we are sensible that our enemies are among us; and the vast number of foreigners which are even now seen in our streets, and who can give no satisfactory account of their business here, if things were examined in-

to, even to an ordinary capacity, a sufficient testimony of the truth of what I now say.

I cannot omit, on this occasion, addressing myself to the British part of the army, which, for the safety and interest of Britain, I could wish were much greater than I fear I shall be able to find them; their own motions make it appear to me but too evident, that my apprehensions are true. We remember a British army were once the champions of our liberty: Can they now sit still and basely look and see it trampled upon? That army, which, for these thirty years past, defended the liberties of Europe, shall they now tamely submit to become the instruments of the slavery of their country? certainly they cannot forget that the hands of several among them took the yoke once from our necks: And shall those very hands agree to put it on again? Let them think what they have been, and not give posterity occasion to mention them with infamy. I would advise them, therefore to redeem their own honour, to gain the love of their country, the estimation of the brave, and the prayers of all good men. Let them make the world sensible that they have been once deceived; and let them see that they are able to pour out vengeance upon those faithless and treacherous heads that ruined and betrayed their country. I would not have them reflect too long upon this advice, lest it should be too late for them, from

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what has been already said, to exert their virtue and courage in our favour; for, should they suffer themselves to be quite extinguished, by the means already hinted at, their repentance will then bring us no relief, it will be too late for them to attempt it, and it will only convince us of their cowardice and baseness.

After what I have here said to the Gentlemen of the army, I would not have the British Gentlemen, who are generally good-natured, and too secure in their own integrity, despise this warning, for they must consider, that those who have a false game to play, are found more industrious to watch opportunities for their advantage, than those who remain secure in their own innocence, and I doubt not, but if things run on in the present channel, and when the plots of Hanoverians are ready for execution, they will soon be made sensible of their mistake.

The city of London has the misfortune to be looked upon by the Hanoverian Ministry, as a main obstacle to their hoped for arbitrary dominion, and therefore the citizens are sure first to fall a sacrifice to their ambitious designs; for the Londoners may rest satisfied, that there will be no arts left unpractised, in order to distress them in every instance that can be thought upon. The barracks and the new bridge have indeed miscarried, not out of any regard to them, but because they were

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ill-timed; but our enemies hope that the time is near at hand, when not only those, but other more considerable articles will be obtained, to complete the ruin of that rich and very powerful body.

There is one main point which the Hanoverian schemes drive at, highly necessary for the British nation to be acquainted with, especially those that are concerned in the public funds. It is an observation, grounded on experience, that no country can subsist long in the payment of taxes, if they exceed what that country gains yearly by its trade; but this is more particularly the case, when most of the money, thus raised, is spent abroad: and therefore His Majesty's Hanoverian Ministry, considering that our taxes are at present much superior to the balance of trade gained by Britain, and that no new supply can be raised to answer their calls, but what will soon prove defective, they have determined, in due time, to take public funds into their own hands, and by this means to enable themselves to support and carry on their several projects and designs, to oblige their friends, and to be a terror to their enemies. This they think will be no hardship upon the people in general, for they will have it in their own power to remit some part, that they may enjoy the rest with greater quiet and safety; and they presume farther, that most of the country gentlemen, and the land-

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ed men, will rather be pleased than dissatisfied with this proceeding, for it will be an ease to their estates, and will be a prejudice to none, but such as have, for thirty years past, got estates by the public, and which, upon the best computation they could make, do not exceed the number of 40,000 persons; a very trifling number in comparison to the whole body of the people.

Indeed His Majesty's designs seem to be so extravagant, that nothing short of such a seizure can answer all his purposes; particularly, there is a great sum of money likely to be expended, in endeavouring to procure the Duchy of Mecklenburg, much greater than was at first proposed: for His Majesty was in hopes, that by giving that Duke £400,000 English money, he will be willing to resign up his rights to the King; but that Prince could by no means be prevailed upon to part with his territories, which descended to him from his ancestors; and therefore His Majesty has been obliged to expend vast sums, to raise a faction among his subjects, as well as to engage the Imperial Court against him; so that most of the South Sea gettings is already gone this way, and His Majesty is now, or at least will be very soon, under new difficulties to support this enterprize, which may perhaps at last end in an open war; and therefore nothing short of our funds can en-

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able His Majesty to carry on his affairs in this, as well as in other instances.

We may imagine, the Act of Settlement, which is by some esteemed the Original Contract between King and People, will be a bar to this undertaking; but if we consider that this Act is already broke through, in several, if not in most articles, we cannot think His Majesty will scruple any thing of this nature, at this time of the day; especially since we find that most of his designs as well to advance his interest abroad, as to enslave us here at home, may easily be brought to bear, even in a Parliamentary way; for the degeneracy of the times is such, that a little present profit is so powerful as to oblige men to forget the future safety of themselves and their posterity: and I have always thought, that whenever Britain is destroyed, the principal agents must be found out among our own people; and there being now so little left of what we call a public spirit, I think this, of all others, the most proper juncture to complete our ruin.

The designs of our enemies are too visible to be contradicted, even by the most incredulous Briton; and therefore I shall conclude, with an earnest address to my countrymen, that they would do themselves and their posterity so much justice, as to look a little about them, to consider their present, and what is like to be their future condi-

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tion, before it is out of their own power to save themselves. Our ancestors have made many noble stands in the defence of liberty, when the attempts were neither so certain, so violent, nor yet so dangerous, as they appear to be at present; and shall we, the descendants of such worthy fathers, suffer this sacred *depositum*, thus handed down for the common benefit of the generations that were to come, to be given up, all at once, without any struggle or efforts made for its preservation. Believe me, my fellow-citizens, if we permit this, we shall be reputed infamous by all succeeding ages, as men of no honour, no love, no concern for the public safety. And, therefore, to use the words of ADDISON,

Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,
The generous plan of Power deliver'd down,
From age to age, by your renown'd forefathers,
(So dearly bought, the price of so much blood)
O let it never perish in your hands!
But piously transmit it to your children.
Do thou, great Liberty, inspire our souls,
And make our lives in thy possession happy,
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence.

N. B. If the Hanoverian Ministry shall think themselves injured by any thing mentioned in this, as well as the foregoing paper, the Author doth not doubt but he shall be able to make the truth

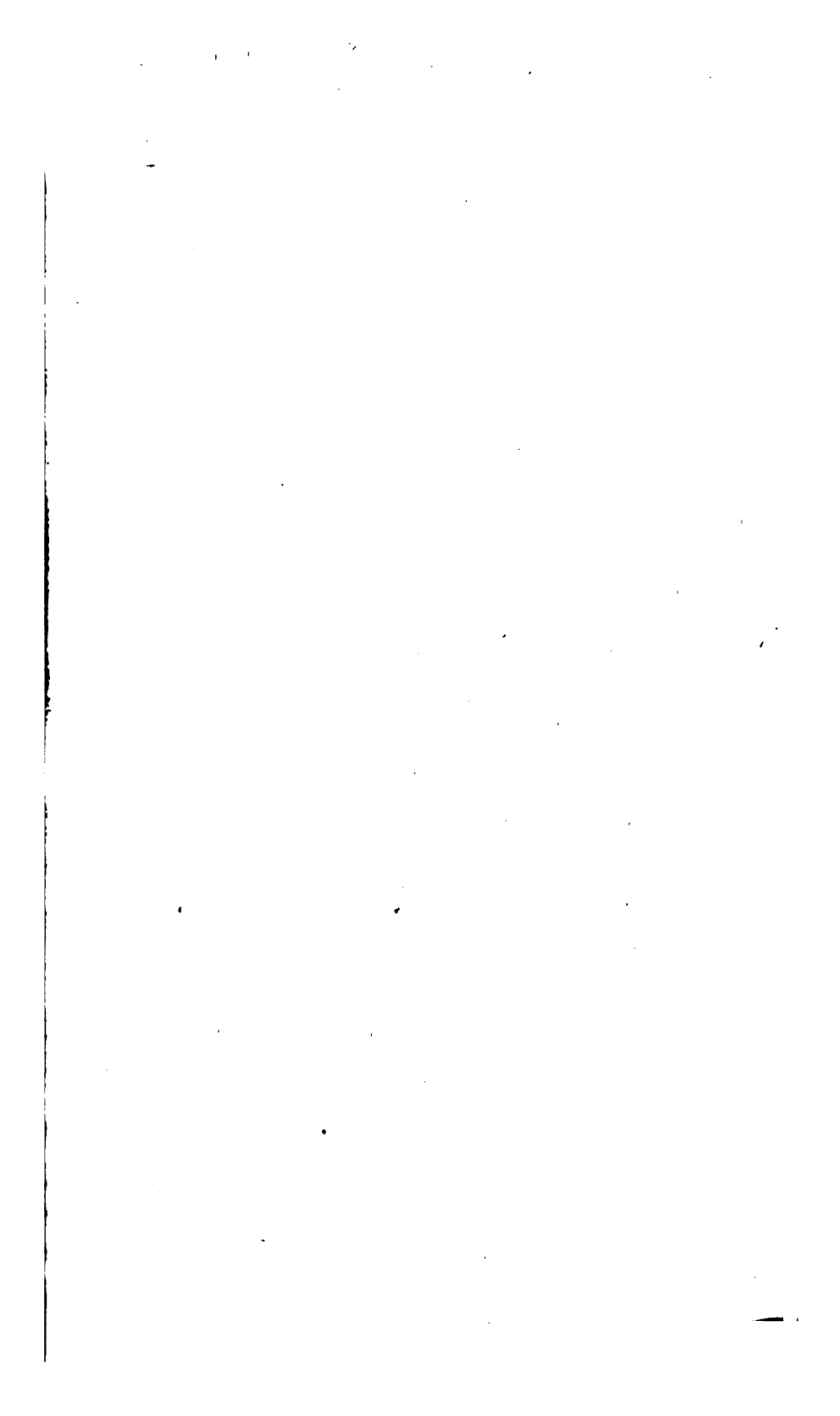
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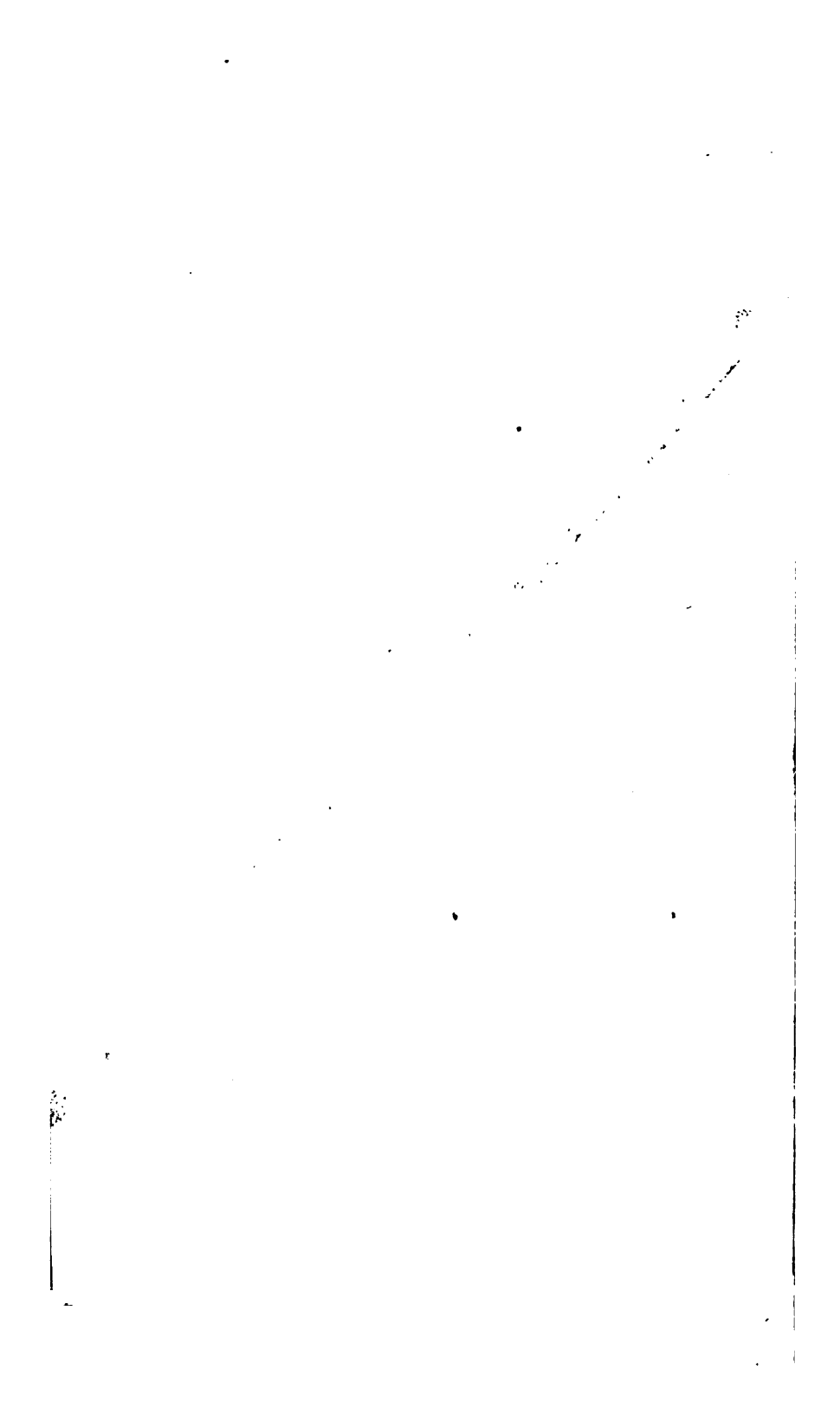
of what he hath here asserted, appear before a free Parliament, entirely to the satisfaction of his countrymen, provided the Hanoverians will not send to assassinate him, as they did a gentleman in the late reign, that made the like offer.

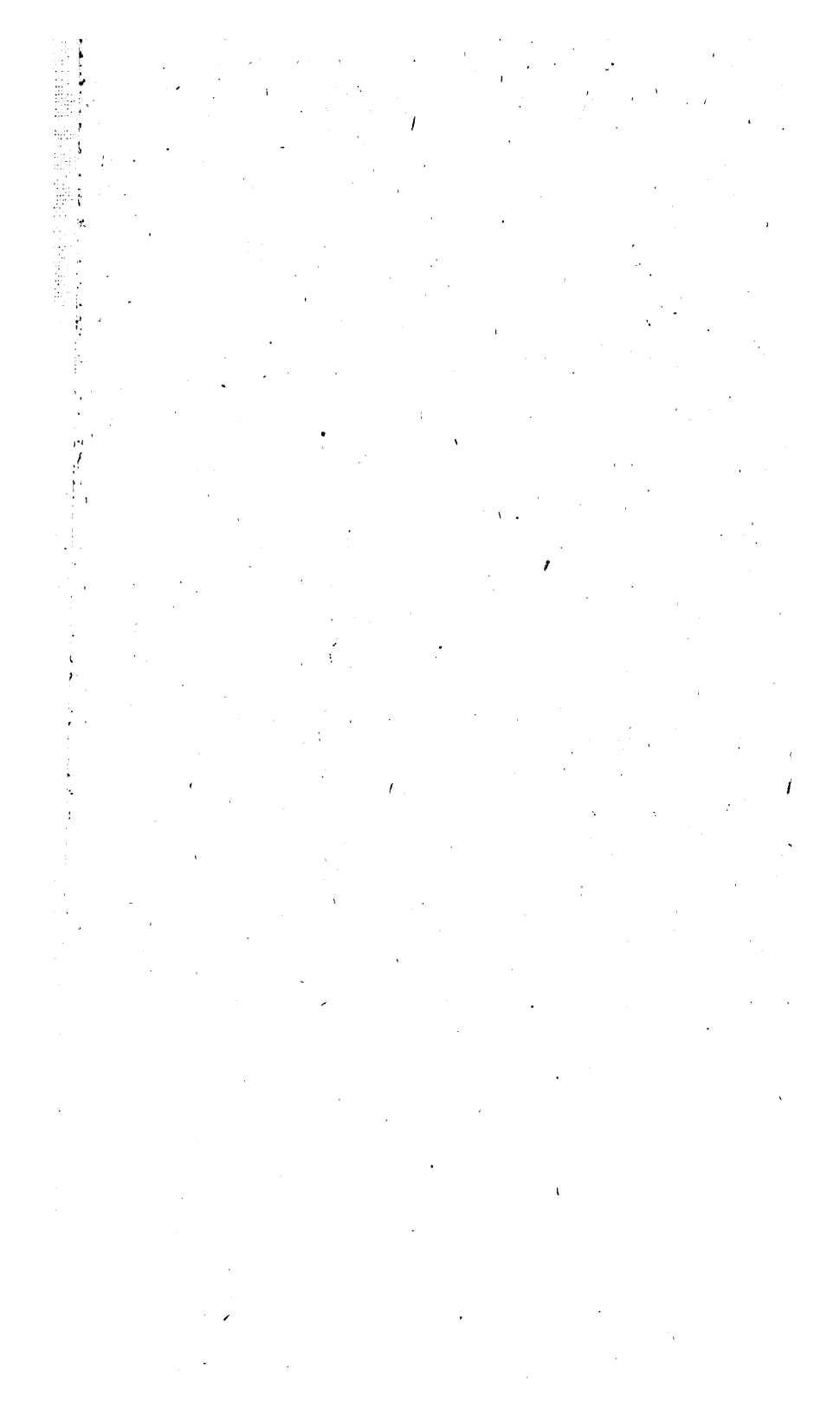
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